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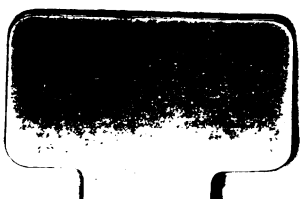
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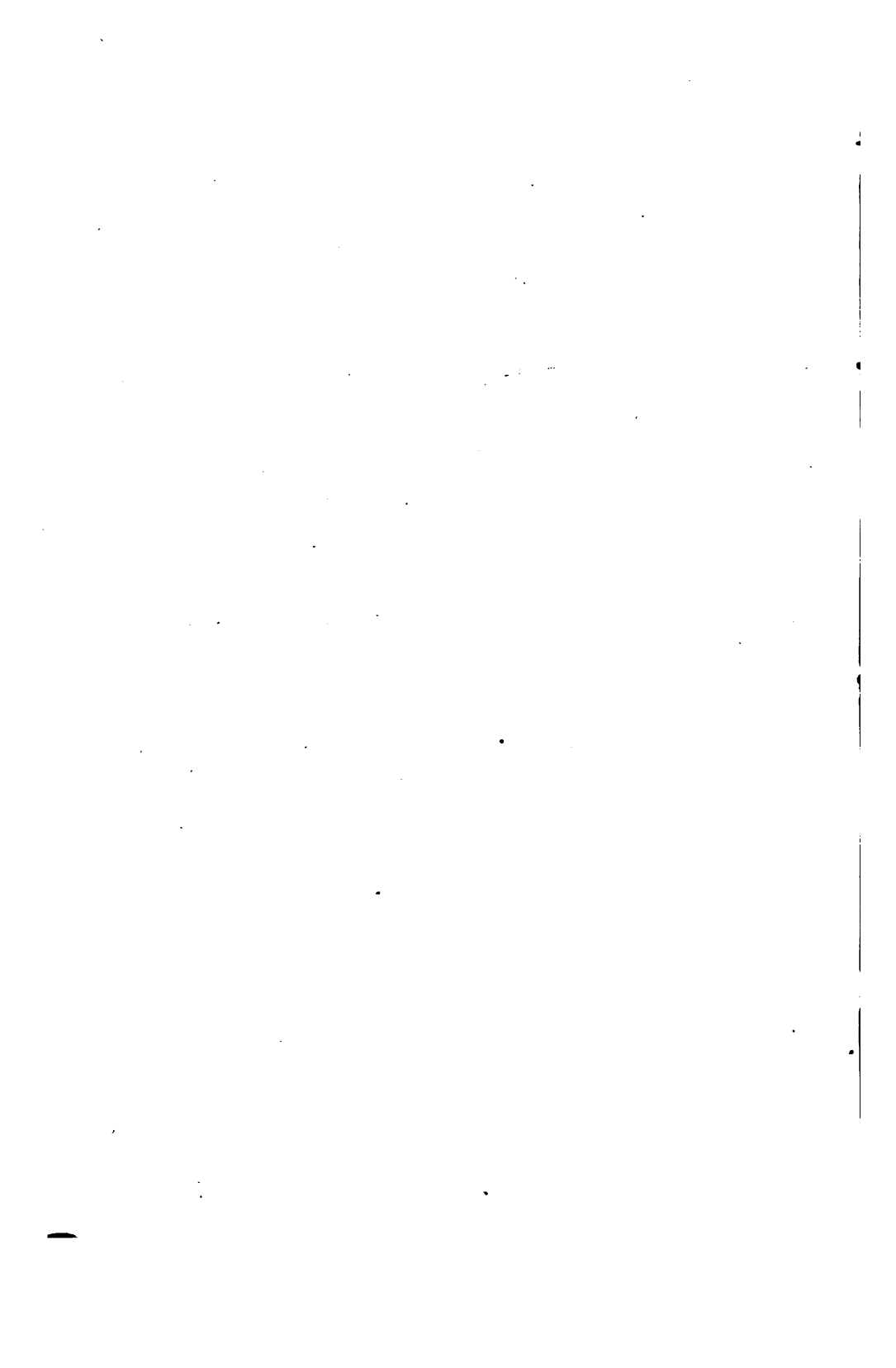
ABSTRACT AND ANALYSIS
OF
THE REPORT
OF THE
"INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION,"
WITH NOTES,
AND
"THE RECOMMENDATIONS"
IN FULL.

BY
THE REV. J. JOHNSTON, F.S.S.
HON. SEC., "COUNCIL ON EDUCATION;"
AUTHOR OF "OUR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA," ETC., ETC.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
VISCOUNT HALIFAX, G.C.B.,
AUTHOR OF
"THE DESPATCH ON THE SUBJECT OF GENERAL EDUCATION IN
INDIA" OF 1854, KNOWN AS
"THE MAGNA CHARTA OF INDIAN EDUCATION,"
BY WHOSE KIND SYMPATHY AND WISE COUNSELS WE HAVE BEEN
ENCOURAGED AND GUIDED,
THIS
ABSTRACT AND ANALYSIS
OF THE
REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON EDUCATION IN INDIA
OF 1882-83
Is Dedicated,
WITH MUCH ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE, BY
THE WRITER.



HICKLETON,

April 15th, 1884.

DEAR MR. JOHNSTON,

I am glad to find that you are preparing an Abstract and Analysis of the Report of the Commission appointed by Lord Ripon to inquire into the state of education in India, of which you were good enough to send me a few proof-sheets.

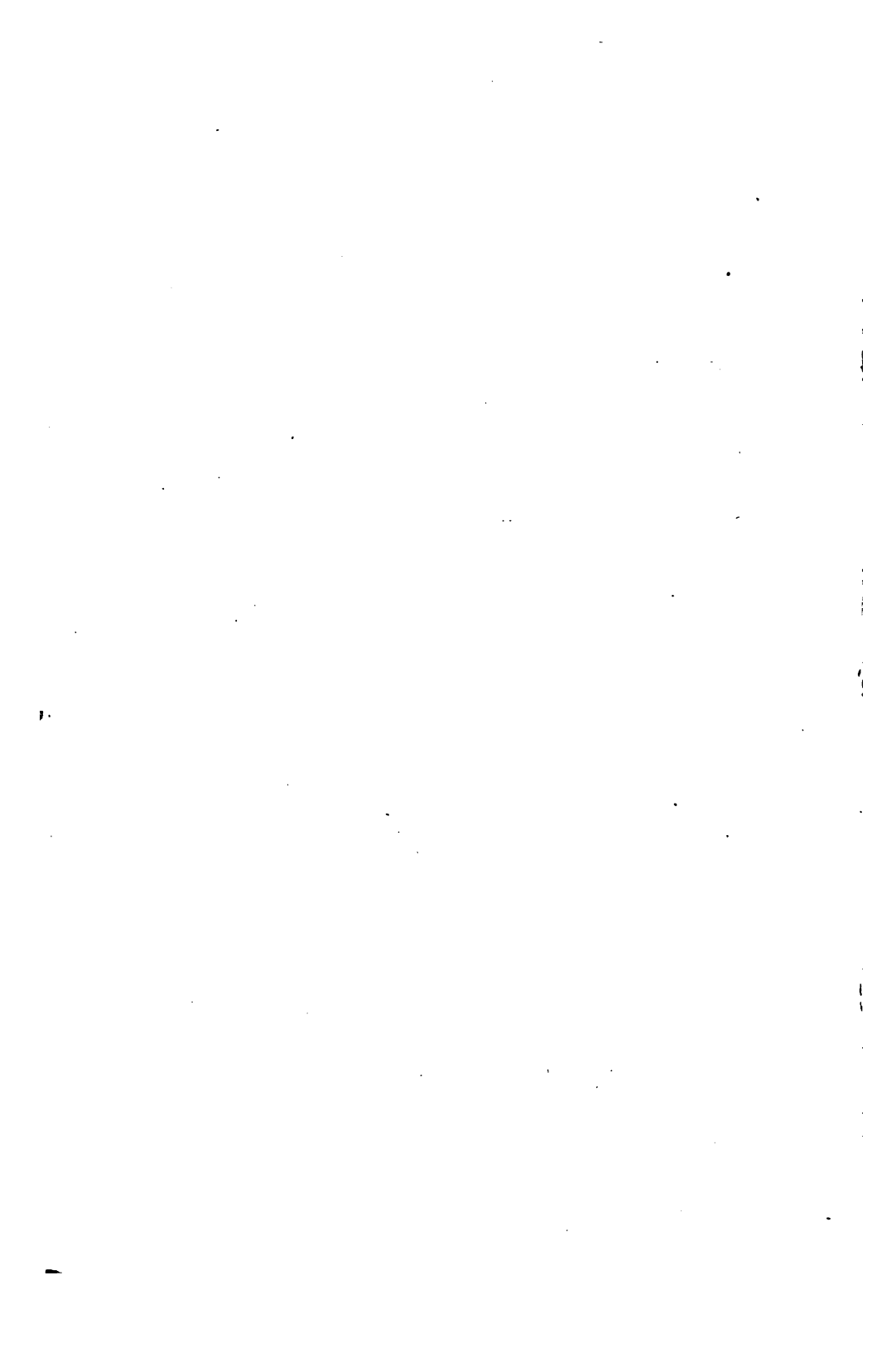
It is a very important matter, and one the details of which it is most desirable to bring clearly before the people in this country as well as in India.

I do not know any one better fitted to perform this task than yourself. To a great practical knowledge of the education given in India, and a deep interest in the subject, you add intimate acquaintance with all that has been done in this country, and is still being carried on here, and I feel confident that all parties on this question may confide in your giving a fair and candid statement of the views of those from whom you differ, as well as of those with whom you agree.

Yours truly,

HALIFAX.

To the Rev. J. JOHNSTON.



PREFACE

THE Report of the Commission on Education in India is allowed by competent judges to be a work of great value and importance, likely to form the basis of legislation; and certain to be for many years the standard of appeal in future educational efforts.

The dimensions and form of such a work being necessarily so vast and complex, that few have time and inclination to master its contents, the following brief "Abstract and Analysis" has been made, at the request of many friends of education in India. But how to accomplish such a task faithfully and acceptably was a perplexing problem. How were we to condense a folio volume of 700 pages of the most incompressible materials—the compressed and tabulated results of nearly two years of inquiry in all parts of India, and the laborious deliberations of a learned Commission with the evidence of 193 witnesses and 323 memorials in their hands—into a reliable and readable volume of less than 200 pages?—to give, in fact, the quintessence of a volume which was itself the essence of ten volumes equally large?

To make a mere *mechanical abstract*, with the

form and substance of the original, was, from the character of the materials, a physical impossibility. To make an epitome in our own words and style, without giving it the bias of our personal opinions, we feared would prove, in our case, a moral impossibility. To condense such a work required a knowledge of the subject much wider and more thorough than could be gathered from the work itself, and was not likely to be possessed by any one who had studied it without an object, and without having formed decided opinions of his own.

We trust it is no presumption on our part to claim the possession of the requisite knowledge after five years of unremitting study, with unlimited access to the best authorities in books and men. But, while taking credit for fairness, we could not lay claim to the merit of absolute neutrality as a colourless medium. We could not trust ourselves to state opinions from which we differed, or conclusions which we thought erroneous, unless at liberty to dissent from the one and correct the other. But if at liberty freely to express our own views alongside of opinions and statements from which we differed, we felt there was no temptation to misrepresent or understate adverse opinions to any man who felt conscious of the rightness of his cause and of his ability to defend it.

We have therefore made it our aim to give, as clearly and concisely as possible, all that is really essential in the Report, and have at the same time freely expressed our opinions, but in such a way as

to leave no doubt on the mind of the reader as to what is our own, and what forms part of the Report; and where we have differed from the Report in any matter of importance, we have, as far as possible, stated the case in its own words, and where that could not be done, the references, which are given throughout, are sufficient means for verification. We have in no instance disputed a statement of fact without quoting the authority of official documents. Instances of real difference are few, and do not detract from the value of the Report; others arise from diversity in the arrangement of the tables, which causes an appearance of conflict between two sets of documents claiming equal authority, which it would have been better to have avoided, or where unavoidable to have explained.

We have given, as an Appendix, the pamphlet "Our Educational Policy in India," of which we had reserve copies, for the sake of the facts and documents it contains, which are now as valid for the period as they were when published five years ago. The historical parts are a useful supplement to the Report.



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ABSTRACT AND ANALYSIS OF THE REPORT
OF THE
EDUCATION COMMISSION.

ORIGIN OF THE INQUIRY.

ON the 7th of May, 1880, the Marquis of Ripon, on the eve of his departure for India, addressed the following words to a large deputation of the "General Council on Education in India :"—

"I am glad to find myself in entire concurrence with you in the approval which you have expressed of the great Despatch of 1854 on education in India, with which the name of Lord Halifax will ever be connected. That despatch lays down clearly and forcibly the broad lines of the true educational policy for India, and upon those lines it will be my desire to work. It would be improper for me, and you will not, I am sure, expect me, to express now any opinions upon matters of detail. It will be my duty when I get out to India, to examine all such matters carefully in the light of the information which will then be at my disposal; but I do not think that I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathize with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes. That has been an especial object of interest to me for many years in England; it will not be less so in India. In conclusion, I have only to thank you very sincerely, gentlemen, for having thus made known your views to me. It is a great advantage to me to have this opportunity of learning the opinions of those who have laboured so long and zealously in this noble field of work, and I am very grateful to you for having afforded it to me."

This pledge his Excellency, as Viceroy, has nobly redeemed, by a policy as cautious and judicious as it has been earnest and persevering. Lord Ripon had not been many months in India before he issued a series of queries to test the accuracy of the statements which had been laid before him by the "Council on Education." These were transmitted to each of the Provincial Governments, and the answers returned were such as to convince the Indian Government that a case for inquiry had been fully made out—that, in fact, the charges made against the Education Department in India, especially regarding the neglect of the primary education of the masses, and the disproportionate expenditure on the higher education, were not only fully borne out, but the statements laid before his Excellency in England were so cautiously and temperately put as to be greatly under the mark.

In the meantime the "Council on Education" were not idle; they had laid such facts before leading men in this country as led to the presentation of a memorial, on April 6, 1881, by a large and influential deputation, to the Marquis of Hartington, then H.M. Secretary of State for India, calling for an inquiry into the working of the Education Despatch for India of 1854. This memorial, which was signed by upwards of sixty members of Parliament of all parties, and by many other influential men interested in Education in India, was most graciously received by his lordship, who, amongst other things, said:—

"I wish very much that it had been in my power to

examine more thoroughly this great question, and to speak more fully in reply to what has been said ; but the fact is, that until very recently, my attention since I have been in this office has not been very specially called to the question. In fact, until I received a copy of this memorial which has been presented to me to-day, and a few communications from Mr. Johnston which had preceded it, it had not been brought prominently before me, that any considerable changes were, in the opinion of any large section of the community, required in the educational system of India."

"After an elaborate and most careful reference to the different points brought forward in the memorial, to the difficulties by which the question was beset in India, and to what had been accomplished, with an admission of shortcoming in carrying out the provisions of the Despatch of 1854 in some important particulars, his Lordship concluded with these words:—'I am not at all inclined to say that a fuller investigation of the subject may not be necessary, but I think that the form which the inquiry should take is one which requires the most careful consideration, and I am sure that you would not wish me to pledge myself to any specific form of inquiry without consulting these authorities in India and others, whose opinions are of the utmost value, as to the best mode in which fuller information can be obtained. . . . I will consult the Governor-General and the other members of the Government in India, as well as my Council here, as to the views which you have laid before me, and as to the form which any inquiry might usefully take. I think that I cannot do more at present than assure you that the important facts which you have brought so ably and temperately before me shall receive my best consideration. Although it is not possible for me to pledge myself to any immediate change in the existing system, or to the adoption of any special form of inquiry, until I have given it further consideration, I may say, in conclusion, that the matter shall be placed without delay before those who are more competent to deal with it than myself.'"

As usual with the Marquis of Hartington, no time was lost in carrying out his promise, and it was only after careful consideration, and with fullest information of the bearings of the question on all points, that the Marquis of Ripon, seconded by

Lord Hartington, on the 3rd of February, 1882, appointed the COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, one of the largest and most influential which ever sat in India.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE "COMMISSION." ITS MEMBERS, INSTRUCTIONS, AND MODE OF OPERATION.

In appointing the "Commission," Lord Ripon and his Government, while reserving the right of nominating the President and a few of the members, wisely resolved to give it the character of a thoroughly representative body, and for that end left the appointment of the great majority of the Commissioners to the Provincial Governments of India. The following list shows the composition of the Commission :—

President :

The Hon. W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D., C.I.E.

Members :

The Hon. SYUD AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I. (who afterwards withdrew and was succeeded by his son, Mr. SAYYID MAHMUD).

The Hon. D. M. BARBOUR, C.S., Secretary to the Government of India in the Financial Department.

The Rev. W. R. BLAKETT, M.A., Principal of the Church Mission Divinity College, Calcutta.

Mr. ANANDA MOHAN BOSE, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. W. A. CROFT, M.A., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Mr. K. DEIGHTON, B.A., Principal of the Agra College, North-Western Provinces.

Mr. J. T. FOWLER, Inspector of Schools, Madras.

- Mr. A. P. HOWELL, M.A., C.S., Commissioner of Berar.
- Mr. H. P. JACOB, Educational Inspector, Bombay.
- Mr. W. LEE-WARNER, M.A., C.S., First Assistant-Collector, Satara, Bombay.
- The Rev. W. MILLER, M.A., Principal of the Madras Christian College.
- Mr. P. RANGANADA MUDALIAR, M.A., Professor of Mathematics, Presidency College, Madras.
- The Hon. BABU BHUDEB MOOKERJEA, C.I.E., Inspector of Schools, Bengal.
- ✓ Mr. C. PEARSON, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Punjab.
- The Hon. Maharaja Sir JOTENDRO MOHAN TAGORE, K.C.S.I., Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.
- Mr. KASHINATH TRIMBUK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.
- Mr. G. E. WARD, C.S., Collector of Jaunpur, North-Western Provinces.
- The Rev. A. JEAN, D.D. (S.J.), Rector of St. Joseph's College, Negapatam (now at Trichinopoly).
- Mr. C. A. R. BROWNING, M.A., Inspector-General of Education, Central Provinces.
- ✓ Mr. HAJI GHULAM HASAN, Punjab.

Secretary :

- Mr. B. L. RICE, Director of Public Instruction, Mysore and Coorg.

As might have been expected, a large number of the members are chosen from the Education Department, no fewer than eight being directly connected with it as professors, inspectors, or directors of public instruction. This has been represented as unreasonable, when it was the conduct of the Education Department that was the subject of inquiry, and against which charges had been made. But while it was *theoretically* questionable, we are satisfied that it was *practically* an advantage. It not only gave the Commission the advantage of having in the midst of it the men most acquainted with the facts of the case, but what was of great

importance, it silenced opposition and allayed the fears of the educated natives of India, who would have put insuperable obstacles in the way of any change, or even of a fair inquiry, if they had had any excuse for suspecting Government of an intention to do anything to the disadvantage of the higher education. Some of these departmental men were most valuable members of the Commission, and, although others, backed by the native members, who had been brought up in, and owed their high position in life to the education received at Government Colleges, and were even more *bureaucratic* than the members of the bureau, did prevent the passing of such strong Recommendations on the transfer of Government Colleges to local management and the appropriation of funds to primary instruction as we could have wished, we believe the result will not in the long-run be injurious but beneficial. It has secured a favourable consideration for the Recommendations of a Commission, so constituted. It has precluded suspicions and animosities from entering the public mind, and the Government know how to estimate at their proper value the Recommendations of the Commission, from their knowledge of the bureaucratic character of its members, and will, we doubt not, strengthen the weak points, and supply what is lacking in the final conclusions at which they have arrived.

In its representative character the "Commission" was the most complete of any that ever sat in India. Not only were there representatives of every province, but, as far as possible, of every class and race in the community; and, for the first time on

an Imperial Commission, the missionary societies were represented—a natural, we might almost say a necessary recognition of the great services rendered by them to the cause of education. Some of the members of the Civil Service in its different departments, who were known for their disinterested services in the cause of education, did important work, and the Marquis of Ripon was as fortunate as he was judicious in the choice of a President. The Hon. Mr. Hunter was eminently fitted for such a post. Distinguished for his learned contributions to Indian literature, intimately acquainted, through his statistical labours, with every part of the country, endowed with indomitable energy, methodical habits, and a conciliatory disposition, he was the very man to carry out such a vast undertaking. It says much for the members, as well as for the President, that so large and heterogeneous a body of men should have continued their arduous and difficult task for nearly two years with so much harmony, and at last have arrived at an important series of 220 Recommendations with almost absolute unanimity.

✓ THE INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSION were admirably drawn up by the Home Secretary of the Indian Government, in a "Resolution" which declared "that its duty should be to inquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy therein laid down." "The Government of India," it adds, "is firmly convinced of the soundness of that policy, and has

no wish to depart from the principle on which it is based" (Report, p. 2).

This being the fundamental principle by which they are to be regulated, the "Resolution" further called attention to the great importance which the Government attaches to the subject of PRIMARY EDUCATION. To the necessity, in the present state of Indian Finance, of developing "PRIVATE EFFORTS AND GRANTS-IN-AID." The desirableness of the "TRANSFER OF SCHOOLS TO NATIVE MANAGEMENT." Attention to the "RATES OF FEES AND SCHOLARSHIPS," &c. To inquire "as to the extent to which INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS exist," and that their "great object must be to get such schools established and improved." To seek the improvement of the quality of "SECONDARY EDUCATION" and their "TEXT BOOKS," and specially to devise means to extend "FEMALE EDUCATION" (Report, pp. 2—4). The subjects exempted from the inquiry were—The Universities; technical instruction, whether medical, legal, or engineering, and the education of Europeans and Eurasians."

The MODE OF OPERATION and some of the results are thus described :—

"The Commission assembled in Calcutta on the 18th of February, 1882, and sat regularly till the 31st of March. Before it rose from this, its first collective session, the provincial members were formed into Committees for their respective provinces. The main work of these Committees was to draw up a series of provincial reports, setting forth the history and present condition of education, and to collect evidence and general material to guide the Commission in its deliberations when it should re-assemble. During the eight following months the President made a tour of the provinces, and in each a session of the Provincial Committee was held, at which witnesses representing all branches of education were examined. To facilitate the collection of opinion, a number of questions

had been drawn up by the Commission. These questions were printed and a copy of them supplied to every witness, some months before the meeting of the Provincial Committee by which he was to be examined. His answers—communicated previously in writing—formed the basis of his examination. There was thus obtained a vast mass of carefully thought out and therefore valuable evidence, representing every shade of educational opinion. The number of witnesses examined was:—

Madras	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33
Bombay	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38
Bengal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28
Punjab	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18
Total								193

The evidence-in-chief and oral answers in cross-examination of each witness were printed, and this portion alone of the matter before the Commission occupied several thousands of closely printed folio pages. But this was not all. In addition to the direct evidence thus collected there were no fewer than 323 memorials, &c., received, and at least one of these documents was a volume in itself. The number of memorials contributed by each province was as follows:—

From Madras	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
„ Bombay	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40
„ Bengal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
„ North-Western Provinces and Oudh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	145
„ Punjab	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	96
„ Rajputana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
„ Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Total								323

“With this enormous amount of matter, filling nine or ten folio volumes, before it, the Commission re-assembled on the 5th of December, 1882, and continued in session till the 16th of March, 1883. By that date it had fully digested the information amassed, and agreed upon its recommendations. The Commission as a whole was then dissolved, but a Committee continued in session, consisting of the President, Mr. Croft, Mr. Miller, Mr. Howell, Mr. Lee-Warner, and Mr.

Deighton. To this Committee was entrusted the drawing up of the elaborate Report which we have now before us. Mr. Jacob was specially deputed in addition to take charge of statistical details.

"After a short introduction, the Report deals with the subjects discussed by the Commission in the following order :—

- Cap. II. Historical review of education in India.
- " III. Indigenous education.
- " IV. Primary education.
- " V. Secondary education.
- " VI. Collegiate education.
- " VII. Internal administration of the Department : control, inspection, examinations, text-books.
- " VIII. External relations of the Department to individuals and public bodies : grants-in-aid ; private efforts.
- " IX. Education of classes requiring special treatment ; chiefs and nobles, Muhammadans, the aborigines, low castes and the poor.
- " X. Female education.
- " XI. Educational legislation.
- " XII. Financial summary.
- " XIII. Recommendations of the Commission.

The whole constitutes an enormous storehouse of facts as well as a declaration of policy, and is one of the most exhaustive records of its educational activity that any country has ever produced. When the mass of provincial reports, together with the evidence and memorials, is published, the entire Report will probably be unique in its comprehensiveness.

"The last chapter, with its 222 Recommendations, which, as the Report states, 'are to be accepted as the conclusions arrived at, and the deliberate decisions of the Commission,' is the most important of all, and is given *verbatim* at page 29."

THE REPORT.

In giving a very brief account of the contents of the Report, we shall follow the order of the twelve chapters under which the different heads of inquiry are grouped. From the nature of the contents, and the vast proportions of the subject, it would be presumptuous to attempt anything like a full abstract

of such a work. The Report is very long, more than 700 folio pages, seventy-seven of these consisting entirely of statistical tables, besides a great number of tables scattered through the whole work. Besides, the Report itself is only an abstract of nearly ten times as much material, which was placed in the hands of those five gentlemen who were selected by the Commission, with the approbation of the Government, to assist the President in drawing it up. It may be said to be the work of six of the ablest members of the Commission, chosen for their thorough knowledge of the whole subject, and it says much for the impartiality and thoroughness of their work, that, though drawn up in Simla after the Commissioners were scattered over India, it was unanimously accepted and signed by all the twenty-one members; and where any dissent is entered—and they are few and immaterial—it is not the Report of which they complain, but some points in which the dissentients had all along differed from the majority of the Commission. We shall allude to these ere we close, but in the meantime we are happy to record the fact that they are comparatively unimportant, and so materially contradictory as practically to neutralize each other, and prove themselves the utterances of men of very pronounced, if not extreme views. Having given the substance of the first chapter, which is introductory, we now proceed to

CHAPTER II.

Historical Review of Education in India.

THIS chapter is from the able pen of the President, and is full of valuable facts, chiefly bearing on the state of education immediately prior to the operation of the Despatch of 1854, and its state at the sitting of the Commission. We shall give, with a few exceptions, only the later results, as we propose to give as an Appendix, a pamphlet published in 1880, in which a popular sketch is given of early educational efforts in India. The following sketch of this chapter by a distinguished member of the India Civil Service who was on the Commission, I give in preference to one of my own :—

“ Chapter II., written by the representative Committee of the Commission, gives a general review of education in India prior to 1854, and subsequently from 1854 to 1882, for the nine provinces of India with which the Report is concerned. It sums up the main results of the policy followed in each province at the end of 1881-82, as follows Madras has made remarkable progress and has encouraged the indigenous schools, but in higher education it has of late years checked the development of private enterprise; female education requires greater stimulus. Bombay can boast not only that its proportion of primary scholars at school is the largest in India, but also that its primary schools are the best organized. Its secondary education is economically and efficiently managed. But too much is done by the State, and too little by the people. In respect to private enterprise, the Government Department has in time past taken up an attitude which is contrary to the spirit of the Despatch of 1854. Bengal, on

the other hand, has largely encouraged private enterprise, but it spends far too little on primary education, and too much on its colleges and college-scholarships. The quality of instruction in its indigenous schools requires great improvement, and its neglect of having no normal schools is deprecated. But it has taken all the country schools into partnership, and if it will only spend more on them, the results will be very satisfactory. It is, however, remarkable that, with all its encouragement of private enterprise, no aided college started and managed by natives exists. The North-Western Provinces have neglected the indigenous schools, and yet have failed to secure popularity for their own cess-schools. They have treated private enterprise badly, and they have not shown good results in any branch of education. In the Punjab there appears to be little life in the educational system; the provision of funds is inadequate, and the grant-in-aid system is not allowed to expand. The Central Provinces has fought a good fight. It has exhausted private enterprise, and pushed on where it could; but it has great difficulties with the aboriginal races, and it has only commenced its huge task. Assam has made good progress since its separation from Bengal, and treated its primary schools more liberally than the lower provinces have done. Coorg deserves little notice as its size is small, but the Haidarabad Districts, with plenty of money, have disappointed reasonable hopes."

Attention is called to the important part taken by missionary societies in originating and carrying on modern culture in India. In going over the different provinces, it is shown that, in almost every instance, the missionary had preceded the Government in setting up schools of every kind, and the great service rendered by them in female education is frankly and gracefully acknowledged. Such sentences as the following are frequently found: "As noticed in paragraph 96 of the Despatch of 1854, Southern India owes much of its educational progress to the efforts of missionary societies;" then follows a list of the societies which had done good work (Report, p. 10); and adds, "It is estimated that in

1854 about 30,000 boys were being educated in schools conducted by missionary societies in Southern India, and about 3000 were obtaining at least the elements of a liberal education in English" (Report, p. 11). "Female education had also made a certain amount of progress in Madras independently of the State, and chiefly under missionary management, before the publication of the Despatch of 1854" (Report, p. 11). Referring to early efforts in Bombay, it says, "Their success was partly due to the impulse which missionaries had given to education, and partly to the poverty of the indigenous system in Western India" (Report, p. 13); and again referring to the setting up of Government agencies, "The missionary societies have already made some impression on the people, and were educating nearly 7000 pupils, of which 900 were in Sunday-schools" (Report, p. 33); and of female education in Bombay, says, "The Despatch of 1854 found the ground partially occupied by missionary bodies" (Report, p. 34); and so on for almost all the provinces of India.

The following table is most instructive, and gives a dark picture of the state of education in the country after our thirty years of educational effort. It is the most favourable statement we have ever met with—indeed, we have reason to fear it is too favourable, dark though it be. We have no means of testing the extent of the reading and writing with which they are credited, but we do know that the numbers put down under the heading, "Under instruction," include a large number who never learn to read or write before they leave school.

If the *one in sixteen of the male population* who are said to be able to "read and write" are no better taught than a large number of those who attend only for a short time the primary or indigenous schools of the country, the powers of reading and writing must be very limited.

It is unfortunate that this and other tables in the Report are drawn up on a different principle from those of the India House, and from those hitherto issued by the Education Department in India. They include the indigenous schools, along with the elementary schools conducted by Government, and aided institutions; though it is well known that the teaching in most of these schools scarcely deserves the name of education, as we shall find from the next chapter. The consequence is that these tables differ from those officially laid before Parliament in the admirable "statistical abstract." The Report gives the entire number under instruction in 1881, 2,487,697, and 1882, 2,766,436. In the statistical abstract they are—1881, 2,195,614, and in 1882, 2,468,624.

The Commission falls into an error when fixing the proportion of the population of school age. They say that they cannot fix on so high a proportion as one in six of the population as in Europe, on account of the poverty of the people and impossibility of any compulsory laws; they therefore fix the rate at 15 per cent. of the population. We admit the force of these considerations, and others that might have been brought forward. But the Commission has overlooked the fact that, even if we fixed the rate as high as it is in Europe, that would be relatively much

lower for a country like India, on account of the much larger proportion of the population who are of school age, owing to the greater brevity of human life. The high rate of mortality in a country in which the population does not decrease, but increase as in India, gives a high rate for the school age. This is brought out by a comparison we have made of the children under twelve years of age in India, and under fifteen in England. We find that at ages differing by so much as 25 per cent., the proportion to the population is almost identical. But for the excessive mortality among *female* children in India, amounting to 4,000,000 more deaths under twelve among females than among males—suggestive of fearful neglect, if not of foul play—the difference would only have been a mere fraction. The following tables will make this plain:—

TABLE VI.—*Population of British India under Twelve Years of Age, Classified according to Sex and Age.*

[Made from "Statistical Abstract," 1881.]

Males.			Females.		
Boys under 12.	Total Population.	Percentage under 12.	Girls under 12.	Total Population.	Percentage under 12.
35,788,154	98,067,555	36·49	31,162,746	92,582,657	33·67

Population of England and Wales under Fifteen Years of Age, Classified according to Sex and Age, Census of 1871.

Males.			Females.		
Boys under 15.	Total Population.	Percentage under 15.	Girls under 15.	Total Population.	Percentage under 15.
4,108,053	11,058,934	37·04	4,093,988	11,653,332	35·99

If these considerations had been taken into account, the following table would have been darker than it is:—

EDUCATIONAL CENSUS OF INDIA IN 1881.

Exclusive of Feudatory or Native States attached to certain Provinces and of British Burma (p. 27).

PROVINCE.	Area in square miles.	MALE POPULATION.					FEMALE POPULATION.				
		Total male population.	Under instruction.	Able to read and write, but not under instruction.	PROPORTION TO TOTAL MALE POPULATION.		Total female population.	Under instruction.	Able to read and write, but not under instruction.	PROPORTION TO TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION.	
					Males under instruction.	Males who can read and write, but are not under instruction.				Females under instruction.	Females who can read and write, but are not under instruction.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Madras	141,001	15,421,043	519,823	1,535,790	1 in 30	1 in 10	15,749,588	39,104	94,571	1 in 403	1 in 166
Bombay { British territory' ...	124,122	8,467,718	271,469	672,895	1 in 31	1 in 12	7,966,696	18,460	32,643	1 in 431	1 in 244
Bombay { Feudatory States 2.	73,753	3,572,355	82,021	266,559	1 in 43	1 in 13	3,368,694	2,793	5,145	1 in 1,332	1 in 655
Bengal	183,196	34,695,591	1,009,999	1,691,533	1 in 34	1 in 17	34,911,270	35,760	61,449	1 in 976	1 in 568
North-Western Provinces and Oudh—British territory	106,111	22,912,556	298,225	1,033,458	1 in 76	1 in 22	21,195,313	9,771	21,560	1 in 2,169	1 in 981
Punjab—British territory ...	106,632	10,210,063	157,623	462,129	1 in 65	1 in 21	8,640,384	6,101	8,407	1 in 1,416	1 in 1,028
Central Provinces—British territory ...	84,445	4,959,435	76,846	157,023	1 in 64	1 in 25	4,878,366	3,171	4,187	1 in 1,539	1 in 1,166
Assam	46,341	2,503,703	33,376	79,644	1 in 75	1 in 31	2,377,723	1,068	1,786	1 in 2,228	1 in 1,331
Coorg	1,683	100,439	4,268	8,639	1 in 24	1 in 11	77,863	431	356	1 in 180	1 in 219
Haidarabad Assigned Districts	17,711	1,380,492	27,317	57,627	1 in 50	1 in 24	1,292,181	366	789	1 in 3,630	1 in 1,638
Ajmir	2,711	246,844	5,097	24,466	1 in 44	1 in 10	211,878	245	983	1 in 866	1 in 220
TOTAL	897,908	104,432,229	2,487,697	6,310,273	1 in 42	1 in 16	100,681,146	117,200	231,891	1 in 868	1 in 434

* Including three Native States which are not assisted by the Department.

1 Excluding Aden.

"Adding British Burma, which was excepted from the inquiries of the Commission, the totals for all India are as follows: Under instruction, males, 2,620,913; females, 145,523; total, 2,766,436; able to read and write, but not under instruction, males, 6,745,502; females, 258,486; total, 7,003,988. Comparing these figures with those for the following year, which have been supplied to the Commission from the more accurate departmental returns of native pupils only, we obtain the following results. Excluding Europeans and Eurasians, and omitting notice of Ajmir, the Department was cognizant of 2,517,629 males, and of 126,349 females at school in 1882. The Census officers ascertained that 2,487,697 males, and 117,200 females, including Europeans and Eurasians, and not omitting Ajmir, were under instruction in 1881. The total expenditure on these branches of education with which our Report deals, according to departmental returns for 1881-82, was Rs. 1,61,10,282 (nominally £1,611,028), of which Rs. 60,64,135 were contributed from provincial revenues, Rs. 26,48,298 from local rates and cesses, Rs. 4,11,449 from municipal funds, Rs. 37,86,006 from fees, and Rs. 32,00,394 from endowment and other sources. Full details as to the methods and objects of this expenditure will be given in Chapter XII." (Report, p. 27).

Whether we take the school age at 1 in 6 or 1 in 7 of the population, what a work remains to be overtaken! Only 1 in 42 of the males, and 1 in 858 of the females, of all India are under instruction of any kind. Even in the Madras Presidency—the most highly educated—only 1 in 30 of the males and 1 in 408 of the females, while in the North-West Provinces there is only 1 in 76 of the males and 1 in 2169 of the females at school. The great diversity in the state of the different provinces shows what can be done, and encourages the hope that the low state of education in even the best of them may soon be greatly improved.

The following table needs no comment. It shows what Christian philanthropy has done for India.

The total number of Protestant Missionary Educational Institutions in 1881-82.

	Arts Colleges and Secondary Schools for Boys.		Primary Schools for Boys.		Girls' Schools.		Zanana Instruction.		Theological and Training Schools for Men.		GRAND TOTAL.	
	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	No. of Houses.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	Institutions.	Pupils.
Madras ...	148	15,722	1,813	50,818	434	23,414	2,029	1,920	18	781	2,413	92,655
Bombay ...	22	2,592	207	5,693	67	3,041	366	147	7	89	303	11,562
Bengal ...	50	6,512	577	14,789	326	9,609	1,318	2,324	19	216	972	33,450
N.-W. Provinces } and Oudh }	60	8,377	189	6,352	270	7,081	2,810	3,390	3	50	522	25,250
Punjab ...	81	9,546	91	2,667	126	3,236	648	1,032	5	86	303	16,567
Central India ...	24	2,500	143	4,441	52	895	351	319	4	13	223	8,168
TOTAL	347	40,075	1,912	54,241	664	24,078	1,300	1,997	70	1,205	3,019	122,132
	385	45,249	3,020	84,760	1,275	47,276	7,522	9,132	56	1,235	4,736	187,652

Statesmen cannot be blind to the value of such disinterested labour for the benefit of our fellow-countrymen, and the churches, while encouraged by what has been accomplished, should earnestly consider what more may be done for a work which is not only important in itself, but has an indirect influence, which tells for good, on the entire education of the country, whether conducted by Government or natives.

CHAPTER III.

Indigenous Schools.

(WRITTEN BY MR. W. LEE-WARNER.)

THE Commission as well as the Despatch of 1854 recognize the fact that India had from a very early period been, in a certain sense, an educated people. While the aboriginal races, now numbering six and a half millions, were, and still are (with the exception of a few, who have been instructed by missionaries, who had to reduce their language to a written form¹) entirely destitute of any education; the early invaders, who now form the mass of the population, had at one time elaborate, and for the age, an adequate system of education. The Hindus had religious schools in their temples, taught gratuitously by the priests as a religious duty, but confined to the high castes or "the twice-born;" but they established schools in almost every village, which in theory, but not always in practice, were meant for all classes, and were frequently well endowed by a grant of land or otherwise. It was also the custom

¹ The exceptions to this statement are scarcely worthy of notice. Some, like the Kumptis, have a kind of instruction, and Government has established a few schools for these races—but they are few, and not successful.

of wealthy men to invite the children of the poor to study along with their boys, under the private tutor or family priest. The Muhammadans also had their schools and colleges, both religious and secular, in their mosques and villages, and the Sikhs and Parsees have always recognized education; while the three and a half millions of Buddhists in Burma had nearly all their boys under instruction. With the exception of Burma, it is painful to record that these indigenous schools of India have greatly fallen off in number and efficiency. They have been degenerating or disappearing, either from the neglect of the Government or their own want of adaptation to the necessities of the age, and in some cases from the lapse or misappropriation of old endowments. A large number of these schools have been absorbed into the Government school system of the last quarter of a century, and now form the primary schools, into which they have been converted. As a foundation on which to raise a superstructure of good moral and secular education, they are of much value, and should be taken advantage of; and we are glad to see that the Commission has laid down a series of "Recommendations," by which the religious schools in mosques and temples may be induced to introduce useful secular instruction, for which grants will be given, and the village and bazaar schools are to be gradually elevated to a higher and more useful type.

To show how these indigenous schools are diffused through the country, and yet how utterly inadequate they are in number for the wants of the population, we give the following table from the Report:—

“Extent of Elementary Indigenous Schools.—The annexed table shows the number of elementary indigenous schools known to the Department, which have not yet been incorporated into the departmental systems of the various provinces of India ” (Report, p. 63).

Name of Province.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.
Madras	2,828	54,064
Bombay	4,012	78,755
Bengal	4,283	57,305
North-Western Provinces and Oudh }	7,127	68,305
Punjab	6,362 ²	86,023 ²
Central Provinces	83	3,148
Assam	497	9,733
Coorg	41	470
Haidarabad Assigned Districts	207	2,672
TOTAL FOR INDIA .	25,150	354,655

The omissions referred to in note seem of small importance in a case like this; even if we add 100,000 pupils, or even double the whole number of those recorded, it is a mere drop in a bucket. India ought to have thirty millions of children in her schools, and the question as to whether there be a few tens of thousands more or less in indigenous schools, is a matter of very second-rate significance.

We have great pleasure in inserting here the preamble to the “Recommendations” on indigenous education, as approved of by the Commission, and embodied in substance though not in form in the Report. It removes all ground for suspicion of anything like undue interference with native institutions

² These statistics are admitted to be incomplete. [A return received since the above was written and passed by the Commission, shows 13,109 indigenous schools, with 135,384 pupils, in the Punjab.]

or even with native prepossessions, and if possible, with native prejudices. There is the utmost consideration for every peculiarity and susceptibility of the varied and complex problems, and the feelings of the different races of that conglomeration of peoples which we call by the name of our Indian Empire. It seems to combine the MAXIMUM OF ENCOURAGEMENT WITH THE MINIMUM OF INTERFERENCE.

Recommendations for Indigenous Schools.

PARAGRAPHS 74 TO 80.

“Before stating our Recommendations for incorporating into a scheme of national education the indigenous schools which, as we have shown, already exist in every province of India, it will be convenient to offer some definition of indigenous school. We include under that title all schools without reference to the class of instruction afforded in them, which are started or conducted by the natives of India on native methods. This definition will cover a larger area of educational agency than it will be practicable or desirable for the State, maintaining as it does in India a policy of strict religious neutrality, to assist or even to encourage in a less direct manner. We therefore consider it sufficient to lay down the principle that all indigenous schools, whether elementary or of a higher order, which serve any useful secular purpose whatsoever, are entitled to public recognition and encouragement.

“The success which has attended the expansion of religious and monastery schools in Burma in a secular direction, justifies the expectation, that in other parts of India a sympathetic treatment of schools, which are chiefly religious, may yet induce their managers to devote some part of their attention to secular instruction, and thus turn to good advantage the influence which these schools possess over native society.

“But we are convinced that the truest policy is that which proceeds with caution, and under the name of improvement does not destroy the distinctive methods and traditions, to which indigenous institutions owe their vitality and popularity. We therefore recommend that a steady and gradual improvement in such schools be aimed at, with as little immediate

interference with their personnel and curriculum as possible. In order to carry out this policy, we consider that the standards, by which indigenous schools are examined and aided, should be arranged with a view to conserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and to the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction, which can be encouraged by special grants.

"The systems, on which the popularity of these schools depends, vary not merely from one province to another, but even in different divisions of the same province. We have not therefore attempted to prescribe any uniform rules, but must leave the adaptation of the principle enunciated by us to the Local Governments, who alone possess sufficient detailed information to enable them to apply it to local circumstances. We attach the greatest importance to the improvement of teachers, whose co-operation and influence will alone render it possible to raise the level of village schools, conducted on the native method, without extinguishing them by well-meant but injudicious interference. In this view we advise that special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, or to bring their relatives and probable successors under a course of regular training. It is also essential to our scheme that all schools which receive aid should be inspected *in situ*, and as far as possible examined *in situ* for the grants-in-aid to which they may be entitled.

"As to THE BEST FORM OF RENDERING ASSISTANCE, opinions naturally differ. It is alleged that in some provinces the aid rendered by Government is at once accepted by the parents of boys as an indication that their own contributions may be *pro tanto* diminished. The aid does not reach its object, and the natural objection which the village schoolmaster feels to innovation or improvement is not overcome by a prospect of personal advantage. It has therefore been suggested that the best form of giving aid to the indigenous schoolmaster, would be for the State to pay the fees of all boys who are too poor to contribute towards the expense of their own education.

"There are, however, practical difficulties inherent in a system, which would entail much trouble on the inspector, and involve an inquiry into the circumstances of the village population that could neither be conducted with satisfaction to the people, nor with sufficient guarantee to the State. We therefore consider that the best form of rendering aid to indigenous schools, and one which involves the least interference, is that which regulates the aid given not exclusively, but mainly, in accordance with the results of examination.

We have already advocated the conservation in the school curriculum of all that is valued by the people, as well as a gradual but steady improvement of method, and we think that if the subjects of examination are carefully settled by local experience, the influence of regular examinations will encourage improvement, and stimulate the industry of the master and the interest of his pupils.

“Lastly, we attach great importance to the connection of all agencies of primary education WITH THE SCHEME OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, which is being developed in India. Local boards, whether municipal or rural, are likely to sympathize with the indigenous system where it is valued by the people. In their hands improvement will not involve destruction. They will know what vernacular the village or town population prefer, and what subjects of instruction are practically useful. These boards will generally be entrusted with the control of elementary education in departmental schools, and their attitude towards indigenous schools will determine the vexed question of the relative popularity of the two systems. We therefore recommend that, wherever municipal and local boards exist, the supervision and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to them. This will not only secure the public recognition of such indigenous schools by local bodies entrusted with power, but also enable the boards themselves to take a wide survey of the whole field of indigenous agency. The pressure of public opinion, as well as their natural instinct, will lead local boards in the direction of popular sentiments, and if such boards are entrusted with the control of primary education as well as with the funds to supply it, they will doubtless give indigenous schools fair play, and when they become efficient, a preference over the more costly institutions maintained wholly by municipal or rural boards.

“We therefore propose that AID TO INDIGENOUS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS should be a charge against the funds at the disposal of municipal and local committees, and every indigenous school, which is registered for aid, should receive from such committee the grant to which it is entitled under the grant-in-aid rules. A discretion would, it is true, be left to the boards to register, or refuse to register, an application for aid. But the considerations of economy and local popularity (where such exist), to which we have referred, would incline the boards to enter schools on their list of aided institutions as far as funds permit.

“The amount of aid to be received would of course depend

on the efficiency of the school as gauged by the education inspector. But the increase of demands of the school-fund administered by the board would correspond with the increasing efficiency of the indigenous schools; and even if a municipal or rural board school had to be closed, in order to meet the growing demands of aided schools, the result would be a satisfactory proof of the extension of primary education.

"In some parts of India, however, it may happen that the indigenous schools have fallen out of repute owing to neglect or the rapid improvement of departmental schools. We should therefore supplement our last Recommendation by suggesting that local and municipal boards should be required to give free play to indigenous elementary schools, and only establish fresh schools of their own, when the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.

"It is not desirable to interfere with the discretion of boards in the exercise of the large powers which have been or are about to be conferred on them. But the mere declaration of the above principle would serve to keep the claims of indigenous schools in sight, stimulate them to deserve and command the patronage of the boards, and justify the Education Department in remonstrating with the boards, if they manifestly neglect their duty in aiding such indigenous schools as are suitable for educating the masses.

"The evidence given before the Commission shows that in many provinces of India fears are entertained that the transfer of controls to local bodies will arrest the progress which depressed castes are successfully making to emancipate and improve themselves. It is admitted to be true in those provinces, that aided schools give no place either to the low caste Hindu boy or the backward aboriginal races. If the departmental schools were entirely superseded by indigenous or aided primary institutions, it is anticipated that the upward progress of the lower ranks of Hindu society would be effectually barred.

"To meet the case of such provinces, we recommend that indigenous schools, which are admitted to the benefits of the grant-in-aid rules, be classed either as public elementary schools or special elementary schools. The principle would be laid down and maintained that the former should admit all classes and castes of the community. Like the present Government schools, they would be open to all ranks of native society.

“The latter class of special schools would be registered as opened for any particular castes or races of the community, and would be allowed to confine instruction to such castes or races. But it would be necessary to secure a proper proportion in each locality between these schools. No general rule can be laid down which would suit the circumstances of every province. In this matter we must afford to wait, and be content only to provide that, wherever a demand exists for instruction, it shall be met as far as funds and the relative claims of the whole community permit.

“We would therefore recommend that such a proportion between public elementary and special elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town or district, as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes. The terms of this Recommendation are purposely general, in order that its application may be adjusted to varying local requirements” (See the Recommendations on indigenous education, p. 157).

CHAPTER IV.

Primary Education.

THIS important chapter is exhaustively and ably drawn up by Mr. W. Lee-Warner, who has been an ardent and disinterested labourer in this and other benevolent enterprises in India. It would be impossible to give in the space we can spare in a popular outline anything like a detail of its 100 folio pages of condensed matter: nor is it necessary; there are many points which will be better considered under Chapter VIII., in which they are treated of in a different relation—a chapter which has been reprinted *in extenso*, and is in the hands of those who require to study the subject more carefully.

Primary education is defined in the language of the Despatch of 1854 “as consisting of so much knowledge, at least of reading and writing, and of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement as would enable each man to look after his own rights.”

The following table shows the proportion in which the three divisions of “departmental,” “aided,” and “unaided” schools under inspection by Government agents exist in the different provinces:—

Proportion of Departmental, Aided, and other Primary Schools.

Provinces.	Departmental Schools.	Aided Schools.	Unaided Schools under Inspection.
	Proportion per cent.	Proportion per cent.	Proportion per cent.
Madras	8.7	51.2	40.1
Bombay	71.4	3.6	25. ¹
Bengal	0.5	91.50	8.45
North-Western Provinces	95.1	4.2	.7
Punjab	84.8	15.2	None.
Central Provinces	66.3	27.3	6.4
Assam	0.5	93	6.5
Coorg	95	5	None.
Haidarabad Assigned Districts	52.9	23.7	23.4

A glance at this table shows what ground there was for the complaints that were made of the neglect of that leading principle of the Despatch of 1854 which made the encouragement of the "grant-in-aid" system, and the development of the spirit of independence and self-help, a leading feature. Of the 82,916 schools under these three heads, there are only three provinces in all India in which the principle has been properly applied—Bengal, in which 91 per cent. of the schools are "aided," in Assam as many as 93 per cent., and in the Central Provinces where, but for special difficulties, greater results would have been attained, and even now the *amount* of the grants in Bengal is very inadequate. In the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, and Coorg, this principle of the Despatch is practically ignored.

We are glad to say that the Commission now lays

¹ Most of these schools are really departmental schools in Native States.

down rules for correcting this abuse. The very large number of schools in Bengal where the rule has been applied, makes the percentage in aided schools for all India appear large, and the number in the departmental class small, viz. 69 per cent. of the former and 10 per cent. of the latter; but such a general statement, apart from the study of such a table, is fallacious and misleading.

The following summary we give from p. 112 of the Report:—

“Statistics of Primary Education for all India.—Under the various provincial systems which have been described, there were in 1881-82 in the public primary schools of India with which our Report is concerned, 2,061,541 pupils receiving instruction in 82,916 recognized institutions. Thus 1·02 per cent. of the entire population in the nine provinces reviewed were under instruction, or if the school-going population of both sexes be estimated at 15 per cent. of the population, then 6·78 per cent. of them were at primary schools. But these figures do not take into account the primary classes of higher schools in Bengal and Assam which were giving instruction to about 100,000 pupils, nor yet the attendance in the indigenous elementary schools outside the State system, for which an estimate is given in paragraph 118, Chapter III. Assuming that altogether there were some 2,520,000 pupils under primary instruction in 1881-82, this estimate, which is the most liberal that we are justified in making, would give only 8·29 per cent. of the population of school-going age in the primary schools or classes of India in that year. If, again, the male population be separated from the female, then there were under primary instruction 15·48 per cent. of the male school-going population, and ·81 of the female school-going population; while 12·55 of the male children and ·80 of the female were in the primary schools recognized by the State. In this last class of schools, containing 2,061,541 pupils of both sexes, nearly 1,600,000 were Hindus, 374,560 Muhammadans, and 41,600 Native Christians. But for our present purpose a more important classification of the pupils under instruction in schools recognized by the Department will show that 663,915, or 32·2 per cent., were in Government institutions, 1,141,844, or 55·4 per cent., in

aided schools, whether indigenous or conducted on European methods, while 255,782, or 12·4 per cent., were in unaided schools under regular inspection, many of which are really departmental schools in Native States. For further details we must refer to General Tables 2*a*, 2*b*, and 2*c*, which will be found at the end of this Report. But we shall conclude our review of the provincial systems of primary education in India by stating the Recommendations which we offer on this part of the subject under discussion."

An elaborate table is given on p. 118 to show the number of pupils who were examined in each province under each class and standard, and the number who passed, with the proportion of those who passed to the number examined. We do not give the table as it seems defective, though elaborate, in not giving the number of pupils from whom those examined were selected. Supplying this defect from p. 86, the result is as follows:—

Total number of primary schools in 1882	...	...	82,916
" " pupils in do.	"	...	2,061,541
" " " examined	...	...	447,400
" " " passed	...	...	262,431
Percentage of number passed to number examined	...	58·64	
" " " on the roll	...	12·70	

This is not satisfactory. Less than one-fourth of those on the roll are presented for examination, and little more than half of them pass. But there may be reasons for the small number presented, which may not imply either want of preparation or undue severity in the examination, although it does indicate a need for readjustment.

THE PROPORTION IN THE DIFFERENT PROVINCES varies considerably. Leaving out Coorg, which is absurdly low, they vary from 47 to 70 per cent. But the difference between the number on the roll and the number presented for examination is not explained,

and looks inexplicable. We make the following table by taking figures from two, the one on p. 86, the other p. 118:—

Province.	Number on the Roll.	Number examined under Fixed Standards.	Number passed.	Percentage of those passed to those examined.
Madras . . .	360,643	143,323	99,366	69·33
Bombay . . .	332,688	167,518	89,453	53·40
Bengal . . .	898,389	32,610	19,155	58·73
N.-W. Provinces . .	213,238	45,638	21,981	48·16
Punjab . . .	102,867	16,689	11,896	70·92
Central Provinces . .	77,737	20,291	9,730	47·95
Assam . . .	38,182	1,381	684	50·62
Coorg . . .	3,069	3,069	400	13·03
Hyderabad Districts .	34,728	17,010	9,826	57·76

This comparison is very suggestive, and needs no comment. But it would be unfair not to call attention to the fact that some of those provinces which figure worst, are in reality those which are most worthy of credit. For example, Bengal, which only sends up 32,610 out of the large number of 898,389, has been making most commendable efforts to extend its primary schools, and has done good work in the way of improving the indigenous schools. The Central Provinces, which look so low in point of numbers by comparison, has a model educational department, and has set an example of judicious treatment of indigenous schools and attention to primary education; while Bombay, which shows so well, has gained its higher position in respect of efficiency by not pressing the extension of primary education. In Bengal and the Central Provinces, and possibly in others, all pupils are examined, but are not tabulated.

The table shows the difficulties to be overcome, and suggests means of overcoming them.

STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION and a comparison of those of different provinces are dealt with from pp. 119—126, but cannot be given in an abstract.

PHYSICAL TRAINING is strongly commended here, and on frequent occasions, p. 127. The TRAINING OF TEACHERS and the best means of securing and maintaining them, occupied much time and thought, pp. 129—140. FEES, SCHOLARSHIPS, PRIZES, and PATEONAGE are discussed, pp. 140—146. "Various methods of reaching classes who could not ordinarily be got to the regular schools," are considered, such as NIGHT SCHOOLS, and "special schools for aboriginal races, outcasts," &c., and "arrangements for female schools," pp. 146—151.

THE RELATION OF BOARDS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION is reviewed in all the provinces of India, and suggestions made for each. See pp. 151—158, and sundry Recommendations made regarding WAYS AND MEANS, LEGISLATION, SCHOOL FUNDS, and THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF TEACHERS, pp. 158—162.

THE COST OF PRIMARY EDUCATION is given in a form which makes it difficult to compare with previous statements, either in our own pamphlets, in the tables in the official abstracts, or even with the reports of the Education Departments. But the differences are not so material as to be worth noticing. To give a clear idea of the bearing of many of the figures, it will be necessary to bring the figures of different tables together. The following are important :—

THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN 1882
(Report, p.p. 164, 165).

Total Expenditure from Imperial or Provincial				
Revenue				= Rs. 17.21.668 ²
Total Expenditure from local cesses and municipal funds...				
... ..				„ 25.41.402
Total Expenditure from fees				
... ..				„ 20.64.771
„ „ other sources				
... ..				„ 15.82.099
Grand total for all India				Rs. 79.09.940

£790,000 is the entire sum spent on the elementary education of 2,000,000 of children; only £172,000 of it is from the Imperial Revenue, and that is 50 per cent. more than it was four years ago, when attention was called to the neglect of primary instruction.

TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON DEPARTMENTAL AND AIDED PRIMARY SCHOOLS (Report, p. 166).

1st. Departmental, Local, and Municipal Schools:—

From Provincial or Imperial Funds Rs. 8.60.438				
„ Local cesses and municipal				
funds				21.02.245
„ Fees				3.15.292
„ Other sources				31.971
Grand total				Rs. 33.09.946

2nd. Aided Schools:—

From Provincial or Imperial Funds Rs. 8.17.068				
„ Local cesses and municipal				
funds				3.83.882
„ Fees				14.67.962
„ Other sources				9.85.844
Grand total				Rs. 36.54.755

It might be supposed from this that the treatment of aided schools was fair, if not generous. But if we look at the official *statistical abstract*, we find that the difference in the number of schools and scholars in those two departments is very different.

² Taking the Rupee at 2s., striking off the right hand figure gives the amount in pounds.

That, in fact, the number educated in the departmental schools is only about half of that in the aided. The figures include the higher schools and colleges in each case, so that the proportion is not affected; and the actual cost of each pupil in the two departments we shall give under Chapter VIII. The number attending departmental institutions is given at 744,003, and the cost, £330,000; the number attending aided institutions, 1,332,853, and the cost, £360,000.

On page 169 reference is made to *the claims of primary education upon public funds*, and to the difference of opinion among the members of the Commission on the subject; an influential minority wished to lay down the rule, "That the elementary education of the masses be declared to be that part of the State system of education *to which public funds be mainly devoted.*" This was toned down to the modified form in which it stands in Recommendation 3, under "Primary Education." We may remark that the explanation of this difference of opinion arose from the Bureaucratic party in the Commission, who were always sensitive as to anything that might seem to reflect on the past management of the Education Department. This comes out in the way they introduce the expression, in the Recommendation referred to, that "it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State *should now* be directed in a *still larger measure* than heretofore." Even the word *strenuous* was introduced only at the

request of the minority. Mr. Lee-Warner, from his representative position, in writing the Report could not give this explanation. But he shows by tables and other statements, that hitherto primary instruction had not received that share of public funds to which it was entitled. He closes with the following remarks, which apply to the whole sum spent on primary education from municipal and local, as well as Provincial or Imperial, funds. The expenditure from the latter was only half the sums he names. See pp. 170, 171 of the Report, where he says :—

“These figures show that in the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, in Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, the Central Provinces and Coorg, more than half of the public expenditure on education was devoted to the instruction of the masses. In Madras, Assam, and the Punjab, more than one-third was so spent ; whilst in Bengal, where, owing to the absence of local rates, the public support of primary education falls exclusively upon provincial revenues, less than one-fourth of the total public expenditure was devoted to primary education. For the whole of India, the percentage of public educational funds devoted to the instruction of the masses was 41 per cent., and the following provinces were below that average, namely, Assam, which spent 39·36, the Punjab, which spent 35·89, and Bengal, which spent only 22·83 of its public educational fund on primary instruction. The proportion given for Bengal excludes, however, the cost of primary classes in secondary schools.”

We cannot further condense the details in this valuable chapter as to the state of education in the different provinces ; the subject will come up under Chapter VIII. From the division of subjects and of labour, there is necessarily a good deal of repetition in the Report.

We give the whole of paragraph 178, pp. 128, 129, on the important subject of *Religious Teaching*,

without remarks, as we have expressed our views at length in our analysis of the Recommendations.

“Religious Teaching.—It has already been shown how large a place religious teaching occupied in the course of instruction provided in indigenous schools, both high and low. Even from the essentially secular bazar school in some parts of India, religion is not excluded; while the complaint against maktabs has been that they confined their instruction to the Koran. Following a policy of strict religious neutrality, the Despatch of 1854 declared that the system of grants-in-aid should be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted. Under the application of this stringent rule, aided institutions are at liberty to convey whatever religious or moral instruction they please. But the Despatch did not leave its decision on the question of religious instruction in departmental schools to be drawn as a mere inference from the contrast with aided schools. On the contrary, the Court of Directors declared that Government institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India, and that it was therefore indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. At the same time it was explained in paragraph 84 of the Despatch of 1854, and in paragraph 59 of the Despatch of 1859, that the masters of Government schools were not absolutely precluded from giving instruction out of school-hours in the facts and doctrines of the Christian religion to any pupils who might apply for such instruction. Against the strict principle of excluding religious instruction from the school-course, various objections were raised and discussed in the Commission. It was urged that in some parts of India no difficulty would arise, because the Government school is attended by children all of whom belong to one religious sect; that part of the policy of transferring the management of primary schools to local committees was to permit of wider and readier adaptation to local wants, which might possibly include a desire for religious teaching; and that, finally, these boards might be trusted not to do violence to religious prejudices or local feelings, or at least that the reservation of a right of appeal from a dissenting minority would secure justice to all. On the other hand, a majority of us considered that religious feeling was so inflammable in India, and sectarianism so prevalent, that it was not safe to depart from a policy which had worked well in the past. The

value of religious education was admitted on all sides, but it was hoped that home-instruction and the increase of aided schools in which religious instruction may be freely given, would to a large extent minimize the recognized evil of banishing religion from Government primary schools. Accordingly we rejected a proposal 'that religious instruction be permitted, with the sanction of the school committee, in primary schools maintained by boards: provided (1) that such arrangements be made as to enable parents objecting to the religious instruction to withdraw their children from it; (2) that the inspector or other departmental officer does not interfere or examine in such subjects; (3) that if there be a dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes and schools, and it shall be incumbent on the municipal or rural board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.' Having rejected this proposal, the Commission by a large majority adopted the following Recommendation, '*That the existing rules as to religious teaching in Government schools be applied to all primary schools wholly maintained by municipal or local fund boards.*' In dissenting from this Recommendation, one member of the Commission observed that it must not be implied that the existing rules precluded religious instruction; for, on the contrary, teachers were allowed, in accordance with the Despatches just quoted, to give such instruction in the school before or after the ordinary school-hours, and several instances could be mentioned of teachers availing themselves of this permission, especially in the Bombay schools for Muhammadan boys. Another member remarked that religious instruction was especially desirable in girls' schools. The mover of the Recommendation, with the assent of his supporters, disclaimed any intention of desiring to alter the existing practice, and the Recommendation was adopted on this understanding." The reasons assigned for the Recommendations we need not give; we give the Recommendations themselves on page 158, and analysis in pages preceding.

CHAPTER V.

Secondary Education.

THIS chapter was drawn up by Mr. Croft, the able Director of Public Instruction for Bengal. Mr. Croft points out at starting that the term "Secondary Education is a vague one," and differs in different provinces and at different periods, according to the standard at which the primary education leaves off; but the *higher* limit is fixed by the standard of University matriculation, for which it is a preparation. It differs also as to its subjects of study, some schools and districts making more use of English, not only as a subject of study, but as the medium through which other subjects are studied; in much the same way as Latin was formerly used in Europe as a medium for all the higher branches of education. From the days of Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay's famous minute, English has taken a prominent place in almost all secondary schools; but there is now a disposition to relax, and give more attention to the vernacular languages.

The Resolution of Government appointing the Commission ordered that, as many pupils would never reach a high standard, "the education given should be as thorough and sound as possible" in its earlier stages.

It is unnecessary, and would be impossible in our space, to give the history of secondary education in

all the nine provinces, as they are minutely given in paragraphs 230—238 (Report, pp. 182—191). We give the following tables, or figures taken from elaborate tables, to show its present state in all India and in some of the principal provinces, with a comparison of the changes which have taken place during the last eleven years. The following are the results (Report, pp. 192, 193):—

HIGH AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

	1870-71.		1881-82.	
	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.
Government . . .	780	69,690	1,363	62,525
Aided . . .	2,251	132,784	1,863	111,018
Unaided . . .	39	1,820	690	40,534
Total . . .	3,070	204,294	3,916	214,077

This table is of doubtful value,¹ as it is pointed out in the Report that the system of classification was different in the two periods. The line between primary and secondary schools was much more distinctly drawn in the latter than in the former period. The chief value of this table is to demonstrate the fact which had been the subject of complaint before the Commission was appointed—that *aided institutions had been greatly discouraged of late years*; a fact to which the Report neglects to call attention. Instead of increasing, they decreased, and, while *Government institutions* on the one hand increase from 780 in 1871 to 1363 in 1882, and *unaided institutions* on the other increase from 39

¹ The figures in 1870-71 included some primary pupils, who were excluded in those for 1881-82.

to 690 in the same period, the *aided institutions* decreased from 2250 in 1871 to 1863 in 1882; showing that there has been a forcing of the Government schools beyond the demands of the attendance of pupils, who actually decreased, and a discouragement of the aided schools, which drives them into a position of independence, as seen by the increase of unaided schools. The explanation given in the Report, p. 194, is very unsatisfactory and incomplete. I frankly confess that, although I have been familiar with the study of tables of this kind as they appear in Government returns of all kinds, I cannot understand the reasoning of this chapter on the above and similar tables, when, for example, it is said on p. 196, "This apparent increase of 885 schools, having deducted 81 girls' schools, was distributed as follows: Government schools increased from 780 to 1357, aided schools decreased from 2231 to 1813, and unaided schools (so far as shown in the returns) increased from 39 to 665. We are therefore met by the somewhat remarkable fact, that within the period in question there was a decrease of more than 300 aided schools, against an increase of nearly 600 in that of Government schools. It will be presently seen that more than two-thirds of the increase in Government schools is merely nominal."

Then follows a table which gives all the "high schools" by themselves, and another separately for "middle schools," both of them for only five provinces, and classifies the others as "minor provinces," giving different results, but without any adequate explanation of the cause of difference. Reference is made to "good advice" given by inspectors in

some provinces, and competitions for scholarships in others, and the whole winds up with the strange declaration, "Thus the establishment of even *unaided* schools in increasing numbers, may be regarded as a measure not only of the vitality of present effort, but also in some provinces of the recognition and support accorded to it by the Department" (p. 167). This, we think, is the language of the Bureaucratic spirit in the Commission, rather than the sentiment of the writer. That it proves the *vitality* of independent effort, we admit, but "*recognition*" and "*support,*" *when no aid is given,* is doubtful. The Despatch of 1854 meant more than the bestowal of "advice," and scholarships which were meant alike for all schools, although some provinces refused to give any to aided or unaided schools. This injustice is, however, now removed, and, seeing that the Commission has laid down Recommendations fitted to remedy other of the evils complained of, we make no further comment, and are content to leave the problem unsolved.

It is impossible to give the increase in girls' schools of the secondary class, for the same reason as that for the total increase in the boys'. The returns for 1870-71 and 1881-82 were drawn up on a different classification. It looks as if there had been a decrease, but that is accounted for by many schools being put down as secondary in 1870-71 which ought to have been in the list of primary schools, and are so classed in 1881-82. We give only the numbers of 1881-82 as being alone trustworthy for this class of schools (Report, pp. 194—198). The following are the modest results:—

SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS IN 1881-82.

(Report, p. 198.)

Government schools ...	6	Scholars...	325
Aided „ ...	50	„ ...	14:7
Unaided „ ...	25	„ ...	309

It is striking to see how completely Government has failed to gain the confidence of the natives for the education of girls. The grand reason seems to be, as we gather from the evidence laid before the Commission, the absence of religious teaching in Government schools. The most devout Hindus and Muhammadans declare that they must have religion for their women. Some of the more careless said, "Our boys may do without religion, our girls cannot." By far the greater portion of girls are found in mission schools. The comparison with 1870-71 we do not give. It is entirely fallacious from the changes made in the classification of this kind of school.

EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1881-82 (Report, p. 202).

	High Schools.		Middle Schools.		Total.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Rs.
1. Government Schools.					
From Provincial Revenue	Rs. 6.02.849	Rs. 12.465	Rs. 3.91.753	Rs. 5.365	
„ Local & Municipal do.	26.826	—	1.32.194	113	
„ Fees	4.29.776	3.625	1.88.000	223	
„ other Sources . . .	47.086	—	18.989	889	
	11.06.537	16.000	7.30.441	6.590	18.93.441 ²
2. Aided Schools.					
From Provincial Revenue	1.64.474	1.320	3.47.767	14.734	
„ Local & Municipal do.	9.777	24	—	—	
„ Fees	1.83.340	232	3.39.863	8.066	
„ other Sources . . .	2.26.016	1.756	3.64.508	29.011	
	5.83.616	3.331	10.67.427	52,201	17.06.576
3. Unaided Schools.					
From Fees	93.036	—	67.177	371	
„ other Sources . . .	1.39.810	—	1.22.123	4.664	
	2.32.846	—	1.89.300	5.035	4.27.181

² This includes Rs. 33.288 for Training Colleges for Teachers.

This gives a grand total for secondary education of Rs. 40.27.198 (Report, pp. 202, 203), or about £400,000 per annum for all India; of which £156,000 comes from provincial or Imperial revenues, £19,500 from municipal or local funds, £131,300 from fees, and £95,000 from other sources—chiefly contributions from natives or foreign societies. Here, again, it is to be observed, that while Government and aided schools spend about the same amount on secondary education, the latter support about twice as many schools; and while Government schools cost the Imperial revenue over £100,000, the aided schools cost only £50,000, besides a large number carried on without any Government aid.

AVERAGE COST PER ANNUM OF EACH PUPIL IN
SECONDARY SCHOOLS (Report, p. 204).

In a Government school the total cost per pupil is Rs. 32. In an aided school Rs. 16, or exactly one half, and in unaided schools Rs. 12 (neglecting the annas and pice). Of this, the Government pupils cost the provincial or Imperial revenue Rs. 17, and municipal funds over Rs. 2½, while those of aided schools only cost provincial revenue Rs. 5, and municipal revenue but the fourth part of a rupee, i.e. only about a fourth of the cost to public funds.

The rate of cost varies greatly in the different provinces, and according as they are taught English or Vernacular. The following comparison we give from the Report, p. 206, to prevent any suspicion of exaggeration:—

“Average annual Cost of educating each Pupil.—The second

of the foregoing tables shows that the total annual cost of educating a boy in a Government high school, which is Rs. 46 for the whole of India, varies from Rs. 24 in Assam and Rs. 34 in Bengal, to Rs. 162 in the Punjab and Rs. 239 in Berar. In an aided high school, the cost for the whole of India is Rs. 33; varying from Rs. 21 in Bengal and Rs. 26 in Assam, to Rs. 89 in the Central Provinces and Rs. 98 in the Punjab. In an unaided high school the average cost of Rs. 13 varies from Rs. 8 and Rs. 9 in Assam and Bengal to Rs. 73 in Bombay."

It is to be regretted that when giving the cost of pupils in *secondary* schools, the Report does not give the cost of those in *middle* schools, which are the more numerous; and when at the end of the paragraph the cost per cent. is given, it still gives that of the pupil of the high school, which is 72 per cent. Why not call attention to the total of both divisions, as we have done, or point out, since it did particularize, that the average cost of a Government pupil in a middle school for all India is Rs. 21, and in an aided middle school only Rs. 12. The difference between that and the Rs. 32 in the one, and Rs. 16 in the other, as given in the table on p. 204, is accounted for by the cost of girls, and training colleges for teachers being included in the latter case, as in all fairness they ought. This proceeds from a little of that Bureaucratic bias of which we have had often ere this to complain, and from which even good men find it difficult to get entirely free.

AN ALTERNATIVE COURSE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

One of the valuable results of the inquiries of the Commission is the carrying to a practical issue a conviction which had long ago forced itself on thoughtful and practical men in India, that the

higher education needed a reform in its leading objects. It was felt that education was all tending in one direction, and that a monetary and selfish one. The aim of all the modern culture was to fit the youths of India for lucrative appointments, and that chiefly under Government; and if it did not lead to an honourable post, or at least a good living, it led to disappointment and dissatisfaction. It was found that thousands of youths were being educated to a high level for whom no place could be provided, and they had been so trained as to unfit them for their old position in life, and unfitted for any other. As for any man seeking education for its own sake, or to fit him for a life of learned leisure or studious labour, the thing was almost unheard of. Professors who had passed thousands of youths through their hands, could scarcely tell of one. With such evidence before them, the Commission passed the Recommendations 1 and 2, p. 35, "Secondary Education," requiring a bifurcation, in some respect like that of education in this country, into the commercial and classical channels (Report, p. 219).

Regarding the new channel, the Report, p. 220, quotes with approbation the words of the Hon. Justice West, Chancellor of the University of Bombay: "The preparation for ordinary business may with advantage proceed up to a certain point along the same course as that for literature and science. It is a defect of our system that it does not provide for a natural transition to the further studies which may be the most proper for a man of business." . . . He adds: "The extension of this knowledge should be along lines where it will be grasped and incor-

porated by the interests and teachings of active life. Still it should be education aiming at making the mind robust and flexible, rather than at shabbily decking it with some rags of 'business information' or low technical skill."

The RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS are given at length from pp. 223-26, with useful tables, which we need not analyze further than to quote that "there were altogether 2218 candidates from 138 Government schools, 2424 candidates from 181 aided schools, and 2120 candidates from 140 unaided schools, besides 661 private candidates. Thus the average of candidates from each Government, aided, and unaided school was 16, 13, and 15 respectively. The average number that passed from each class of schools was respectively 8, 4·6, and 5·3; the proportion of successful candidates being 49·4 per cent., and 35 per cent. in aided and unaided schools. The Government schools, therefore, maintain the superiority, due to the stronger establishments generally employed in them." It should also have been said that they not only had the larger and more experienced staff of teachers, but from the *prestige* of being under Government patronage they had the better class of students—one of the causes which makes competition with such institutions so difficult.

The examination of girls did not show higher results, but it was a hopeful circumstance that "one Government and two aided girls' schools in Bengal sent respectively 3 and 2 candidates to the University Matriculation Examination, of whom all but one (from the Government school) passed."

THE RACE AND CREED of pupils in secondary schools is of interest, and is given for each province (Report, p. 226); we give "the percentage of pupils of each race or creed to the total number of pupils on the rolls: Hindus, 83·67; Muhammadans, 11·05; Sikhs, ·27; Parsees, 1·29; Native Christians, 2·62;" and add, for comparison, "the proportion of each race or creed to the total population: Hindus, 73·21; Muhammadans, 22·36; Sikhs, ·62; Parsees, ·04; Native Christians, ·45." This shows that the Christians are, proportionately to their number, the best educated; then follow the Parsees, the Sikhs, the Hindus, and lastly the Muhammadans.

On the condition of text-books, libraries, school-rooms, fees, and arrangements for training and payment of teachers, &c., as given for each province, we cannot enter. (See Report, pp. 231—254, and "Recommendations," p. 163).

CHAPTER VI.

Collegiate Education.

WE shall make our outline of this chapter as brief as possible, as we shall bind up at the end of our abstract the pamphlet we published some years ago, in which the history and character of collegiate education is given at length; and there is nothing in the Report, and still less in the evidence laid before the Commission, to make any alteration of its statements necessary. We shall bring the figures down to the present date.

From pp. 256—262 there is a pretty full history of collegiate education prior to the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, in obedience to the Despatch of 1854, a work which was not completed in the three provinces until 1857. These early efforts show that education was almost exclusively of an Oriental character, even when encouraged by Europeans, with the exception of missionary institutions, prior to the famous Resolution of Lord William Bentinck. The labours of the Serampur missionaries, of Dr. Duff in Calcutta, and of Anderson in Madras, are recognized. The reformation of Benares Native College by that great scholar, Dr. John Muir, and Dr. Ballantyne, and the vicissitudes of many efforts, are recorded,

before the Universities gave the higher education a definite character and aim, as well as greater stability.

The history is continued, after 1857 down to 1882, on pp. 262—268, marking the great progress made, of which a full record is given in the pamphlet appended. The establishment of the new University for the Punjab on a different basis from the other three, along with the Oriental College at Lahore, marks a new departure in the collegiate study of late years, as the aim is to combine the cultivation of the higher literature of the East along with the highest culture of the West.

The following paragraph is well worth quoting, to show how the Native States are following our example by establishing colleges of their own, in which European science is taught, in many cases with much efficiency, and frequently under English, as well as native, professors or principals.

“Colleges maintained by Native Princes and Chiefs.—The following colleges owe their existence to the enlightened liberality of native princes and chiefs: The Haidarabad College, maintained by his highness the Nizam; the Mysore and Bangalore Colleges, and the Shimaga High School, maintained by the Mysore Government; the Trevandram College, maintained by his highness the Maharaja of Travancore; the Vizianagram College, maintained by his highness the Maharaja; the Kerala Vidyasala, Calicut, maintained by his highness the Zamorin Maharaja Bahadur; the High School, Cochin, maintained by the Cochin Government; the College at Puddukotta, maintained by the Maharaja; the Rajaram College, maintained by the Kolhapur State; the Baroda College, maintained by his highness the Gaekwar; the Kathiawar Rajkumar College, at Rajkot; the Bardwan College, maintained by the Maharaja; the Jaipur College, maintained by his highness the Maharaja; the Sehor High School, maintained by her highness the Begum of Bhopal

and the neighbouring chiefs; the Patiala College, maintained by his highness the Maharaja; the Rajkumar College in Bundelkhand, maintained by the chiefs of that territory; and the Residency College at Indore. Most of these are in Native States, and do not appear in our statistical tables; but they deserve mention here as a striking proof that educational progress is not confined to British India" (Report, p. 267.)

"THE SCOPE OF EDUCATION," given on p. 269, and the "course of study" on pp. 270, 271, show a wonderful resemblance to those of an English University course, but with Sanskrit or Arabic allowed as substitutes for Greek and Latin, while not excluding the latter; English being not only a subject, but the medium of study in all its branches. The college course for an M.A. degree takes from five to six years, and is reached by few. The B.A., which may be taken in four years at college, is attained by more, but not by many. Most are content with an intermediate distinction, not properly a degree, called the F.A., or first arts examination, held generally at the end of the second or third year of the college course. The entrance or matriculation examination, which is generally passed at 16 or 18 years of age, requires about as much proficiency as a boy leaving an English school has attained at that age. And the college course is supposed to be as hard as that at our English colleges, perhaps harder, if we take into account that all the studies are conducted in English—to the students an acquired language.

The numbers who passed in the three Presidency colleges in the session 1881-82 were as follows:—

	F.A., or First Arts Examina- tion.	B.A.	M.A.
Calcutta . .	356	105	32
Madras . .	366	125	5
Bombay . .	71	36	3
Total .	793	266	40

The numbers attending all the affiliated colleges of those three Universities was not fewer than 5399 in 59 colleges. Of these 5399 students, 2693 were in 30 departmental or Government colleges, 1994 in 20 aided colleges, and 707 in 9 unaided colleges.

The following is the result of classifying them according to race or creed :—

	In Govern- ment Colleges.	In Aided Colleges.	In Un- aided Colleges.	Total.
Hindus	2465	1703	659	4827
Muhammadans . .	125	70	2	197
Sikhs	3	—	—	3
Parsees	55	48	—	103
Native Christians . .	31	120	15	166
Europeans and Eurasians.	15	46	3	64
Others	4	7	28	39

THE COST OF COLLEGIATE EDUCATION is a little less than when we wrote in 1878, owing to the large increase of pupils without a corresponding increase in the number of colleges, and the consequent saving of expense. In 1878 the annual cost to the State of each pupil in a Government college was, on the average, Rs. 270, and in an aided college Rs. 55. Now the cost is Rs. 253 in the former, and only Rs. 35 in the latter. A reduction of about 37 per cent. in the aided colleges, and only 6 per

cent. in those of Government, adding greatly to the strength of our argument in favour of the advantages, in point of economy, of aided institutions. That Government colleges do not succeed in reducing the cost of their pupils when the higher education is so much in demand, shows the extravagance of their expenditure, for which they can show no adequate advantage to counterbalance the difference in cost to the State (Report, p. 279).

THE FEES in colleges are supposed to be high enough, with the exception of Madras, where it is recommended that they be raised in the Government college, where they are one-half of what they are in Calcutta and Bombay (Report, p. 281).

SCHOLARSHIPS are provided in varying extent in the different provinces, from Rs. 7,000 in the Central and North-West Provinces, to Rs. 10,254 in Madras; Rs. 12,655 in the Punjab, Rs. 13,086 in Bombay, and Rs. 101,009 in Bengal. These, in some provinces, could only be held in a Government college. Now it is proposed that they be open alike to all (Report, p. 284, &c.).

THE SOCIAL POSITION of students is the same as shown previously, almost all of the lower and middle, scarcely any of the wealthy or aristocratic families, and many of the really poorer class of Brahmans. Half the students in the colleges of Bengal are from families with incomes from £20 to £200 a year (Report, p. 286).

THE SALARIES OF PROFESSORS are given for the different provinces. In colleges of the first grade they are generally from about £500 or £600 a year at commencement, to about £1800 a year, with

retiring allowances of about one-third of the full salaries up to Rs. 5,000. The total cost of Government colleges varies from about £4000 to £12,000 a year. While recommending the liberal payment of professors, especially European ones, they admit the necessity for economy (p. 289).

MORAL TRAINING in colleges engaged much attention in the Commission, and while it was felt that there was a danger in making *the basis* of moral conduct a subject of philosophical discussion at the most critical period of life, there was a felt need for something being done. The Report, in referring to the evidence laid before the Commission, says:—

“The great majority, however, of the witnesses that dealt with the question at all, expressed a strong desire that definite moral instruction should form part of the college course. If we may judge by the utterances of the witnesses, there is in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab a deep-seated and widespread feeling that discipline and moral supervision require to be supplemented by definite instruction in the principles of morality. The feeling seems not to be so strong in the provinces where Western education has been longer and more firmly established; but some of the witnesses in every province, and some of every class, Native and European equally, have asserted that there is urgent need that the principles of morality should be definitely expounded. A review of the evidence seems to show that moral instruction may be introduced into the course of Government colleges without objection anywhere, and in some provinces with strong popular approval. Those who wish definite moral instruction to be introduced, generally advocate the teaching of some moral text-book.” (See Report, p. 294.)

RELIGIOUS TEACHING was felt to be of equal importance, and of still greater difficulty. The only solution seemed to be that *it must be left to aided colleges*, and the Commissioners were unanimously of opinion that to meet the desire for religious

teaching, which was so generally expressed by witnesses of all classes, and in every part of India, that every encouragement should be given to the establishment of colleges in which religious teaching formed a part, and "*that in doing this they should be liberally helped;*" and they point out that the benefit of such a college would extend itself to other colleges alongside of it, from which religious teaching was excluded. They say, with great truth: "*Those who regard any particular form of religious teaching as a good thing, may be sure that in establishing a college in which such teaching is imparted, they are influencing not only the students their own college may attract, but the students of Government colleges as well*" (Report, p. 296). This is a truth which we are glad to see coming from such weighty authority, and would commend it to the earnest attention of all thoughtful and religious men.

PHYSICAL TRAINING is making progress among the youth under the encouragement of the professors, and athletic games are growing in favour, especially among the powerful races in the North-West and Central Provinces. But even the Bengalis take kindly to cricket (Report, p. 296).

The subject of ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS occupies much thought and space in the Report, and it was the general opinion that there was a need of change in the direction of greater breadth, and though private study is not encouraged, as it is not generally successful, it ought not to be deprived of recognition; nor should private students be excluded from examinations for degrees (Report, pp. 297—300).

THE PROFESSIONS ADOPTED by graduates of the Universities are given at length on pp. 301—304.

The great object of ambition is to enter the service of Government in some office or other, and it is often a subject of dissatisfaction if it cannot be attained. Failing in this, the Bar is found suited to the native mind, at which they not infrequently rise to distinction and attain wealth. All professions are now more or less pursued, many find their way to offices as clerks, and the native press is almost entirely conducted by graduates or undergraduates of the colleges.

THE EFFECT OF OUR COLLEGE EDUCATION UPON THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE PEOPLE fills several pages under the above title, and under the succeeding paragraph on professions, &c. It is contended that there is considerable improvement as compared with the old standard of morals, which is not saying a great deal, when it is admitted that some very ungainly vices have been borrowed from the professors and disciples of Western culture. While claiming that many errors of past methods have been got rid of, it is admitted that there is much room for improvement. "The surroundings of Indian students" are said to be bad; "living in an atmosphere of ignorance, his sense of superiority is in danger of becoming conceit. Reverence for the current forms of the religion of his country seems difficult to him when face to face with dogmas which science has exploded, and a disposition to scoff does not beautify his nature. Nor is it possible, at least in Government colleges, to appeal in a large and systematic manner to that religious teaching which has been found to be the most universal basis of morality" (Report, p. 300). This is an important statement to be sanctioned by such a body of men,

and from the pen of a principal of a Government college; and he adds, on another page, "Still, desirous as we are fully to acknowledge the good effects of collegiate education, we do not shut our eyes to certain deficiencies of result, and certain positive evils, ascribed to various defects of system. We cannot affirm that in education has been found a sufficient cure for the comparative absence of lofty motives and of a sense of public duty, which for long centuries has been an admitted drawback on so much that is attractive in the character of natives of India. We cannot deny that, though the standard of morality is higher than it was, it is still a morality based to a large extent upon considerations of prudent self-interest, rather than upon any higher principles of action. Moral strength of purpose, under circumstances in which such strength has only itself to rely upon, is too often conspicuous by its absence; and great intellectual attainments are by no means always accompanied by great elevation of character" (Report, p. 303).

We are glad to see such a frank admission of the shortcomings of the collegiate system of Government from such a source, and willingly admit what is said in the next sentence: "On the other hand, however, it must not be forgotten that improvement in this matter, especially under the conditions imposed by the past history of the country, must be the work of several generations."

Nothing worthy of notice is said about the transference of Government colleges to local management; this is treated of in subsequent chapters. (See "Recommendations," p. 165.)

CHAPTER VII.

**Internal Administration of the Education
Department.**

IN the introductory paragraph, the able writer of this chapter, Mr. Croft, Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, begins with an expression of the importance of "bringing the Department into closer relations with independent persons or bodies interested, equally with itself, in the progress of education; and for rendering accessible to it the fruits of their experience;" an expression which comes gracefully from his pen, as one of those Directors against whom we never heard any complaint of lordly assumption of authority, or unfriendliness toward *aided* institutions. The subject is dealt with under the heads of "Direction or Control," "Inspection," and "Instruction," and gives "a description of the constitution of the Education Department in the different provinces of India" (p. 313).

"The superior officers of the Department in each province are arranged in a classified list. Educational officers in Bengal were first *graded* in the year 1865, and within the next five or six years the same system was extended to the other provinces of India." This list does not include the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction, who receive salaries

in Bengal and Bombay of Rs. 2000 a month, about £2400 a year, rising in ten years to Rs. 2400 or £3000 a year. In Madras, from £2400, rising in five years to £2700. In the North-West Provinces £2400, and the Punjab Rs. 1500 a month, rising in five years to Rs. 2000, or £2400 a year.

The list of Superior Officers is graded in four classes, of whom in the first class there is one, or at most two, in each province, receiving from £1500 to £1800 a year. There are 18 in the second, varying from 2 in Madras and the Punjab to 3 in Bombay, and 4 in the North-West Provinces to 6 in Bengal, with from £1200 to £1500 a year; 30 in the third receiving from £900 to £1200, and 43 in the fourth with from £600 to £900 a year. A few natives are found in this higher grade. In Bengal, out of 39 on the list, 7 are natives, and 1 has risen to the highest grade. In the other provinces the proportion is smaller, but it is recommended that in future qualified natives be more largely employed, but that they should, as in other departments, receive only two-thirds of the salary paid to a European (pp. 313—315).

There is a *subordinate graded service*, divided into seven classes, receiving from £60 to £300 a year, of whom there are 316 officers on the list.

CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF CONTROL were proposed by several of the witnesses. (1) It was proposed by some "to associate with the Directors in each province a consulting board of education; (2) by others, to transfer to the Universities a large portion of the control now exercised by the Department; (3) the similar transfer of control to district boards,

or other local bodies; (4) the abolition of the provincial directorships." Of these, the last found no support in the Commission, and the third is not discussed here, as it comes up again in Chapter VIII.; the second was not approved of; the first was made the ground of a long discussion, but was eventually set aside as not suited to the present state of education in India.

Here we would take occasion to express our regret that nothing was done to lay before Government some practical suggestions as to the best way of superintending education over the country. At present there is no systematic supervision by the central Government in India, or by the Council at home. Elaborate reports are sent in to the different provincial Governments, by whom they are supposed to be examined, and a minute made and appended to the report before it is sent home to the India House, where all the reports from all the provinces are duly received and treasured up. The character of the examination by the provincial Government depends entirely on the personal character of the Governor or his secretary. In many cases the minute appended is a mere echo of the report, and for all practical purposes might be written by the same hand which penned it. Generally they are laudatory, or if a hint of censure is thrown out, it is done in a hesitating tone, as if by one who is not sure of his ground in dealing with the work of a specialist of which he has but imperfect knowledge. In a few cases you come upon a firm note of censure, and an authoritative command to alter a certain line of policy; and you look to the report of the following

year to see if it be attended to. But such hope is vain. If the Governor or his secretary are still at the same post, you will find the same complaint repeated for a year or two, and then the high Government official is changed, and the permanent Education officer remains the master of the field under a new man, and, most likely, a new policy; or, if not, he is prepared to repeat his Fabian tactics during another five years' administration of his nominal masters.

As for the home Government, there is no department and no man whose duty it is to superintend the education of India. This great enterprise is thrown in as a small part of the work of a Committee, which has much urgent business to attend to of a different kind, and which cannot be expected to know what is contained in these ten or twelve dreary volumes, with their elaborate tables.

If matters are left in this unsatisfactory state, we cannot expect any consistent policy to be carried out, and all the evils which have been exposed, and for which remedies are now in a large measure provided, will return, and that, in all likelihood, in a worse form than ever. There are men both in the Government in India and at home who are able and willing to do their best, but it is no man's appointed task, and they have other work to attend to. Can we wonder that, in these circumstances, the education of the people is neglected?

We cannot here recommend a definite remedy, but we indicate its nature, and call attention to the absolute need for a remedy of some kind.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES are recommended, in

which all parties interested in, and taking any share in education are to take a part, and regulations are laid down to prevent any ill-effects from any competitions between schools under Government and those under private enterprise (Report, pp. 320—323).

THE INSPECTING STAFF, with the area under each class in each of the provinces, with the number of schools under their care, and the number examined *in situ* or at centres, with the number of scholars, is given (as well as the number of miles travelled by each) in a table at p. 325 of the Report, of which we give the principal results :—

There are 45 Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors, with an average area of 24,417 square miles allotted to each, varying from 4634 in Assam to 18,722 in Bengal, 23,000 in Madras, and 38,128 in Bombay. The average number of schools is 882, of which an average of 131 are examined by them *in situ*, and 137 in centres, with an average of 6686 scholars examined.

There are 238 Deputy Inspectors, with an average area of 4211 square miles to each. The average of schools under the charge of each is 291. The number examined *in situ* 180, and 99 in centres, and the total number of schools examined is 230, with a total average number of 4178 scholars examined.

The number of Sub-Deputy Inspectors is 241, with an average of 2132 square miles, and 133 schools to each inspecting officer, and an average of 140 schools examined *in situ*, and 135 in centres, with a total average of 182 schools examined, with 3934 scholars.

We are at a loss to reconcile some of these numbers, but give them as they appear in the tables. The average number of days spent and miles travelled on the average by each class, is—Inspectors and Assistant inspectors, 169 days and 2113 miles; Deputy inspectors, 198 days and 1878 miles; and Sub-Deputy inspectors, 203 days and 1665 miles. This agency is then described as it is found in each of the provinces (Report, pp. 326—331).

THE COST OF INSPECTION AND CONTROL is given for each province in an elaborate table (Report, p. 332). We give only the totals for the principal provinces, and for the whole of India; reckoning the rupee at 2s.

Salaries in Madras amount to £13,370; in Bombay to £17,963; in Bengal, £33,187; North-West Provinces, £20,744; Punjab, £14,679; and Central Provinces, £8531. Travelling allowances and contingent expenses in Madras, £6527; in Bombay, £4099; in Bengal, £11,872; in the Punjab, £2283; and in the Central Provinces, £1834.

For the whole of India the cost of *direction* is £27,375, and of *inspection*, £135,428. The percentage of *direction* to the total expenditure for education from provincial funds is 3·87, and to the total expenditure from all sources, 1·50. The percentage of *inspection* is to the former 16·58, and to the latter 7·44 (Report, p. 332).

It is proposed both to lessen the expense of this agency in future, and to increase its efficiency by the "ENLISTMENT OF VOLUNTARY INSPECTORS" (Report, p. 334).

TEXT-BOOKS formed the subject of much earnest

consideration, the substance of which will be found in the Report, pp. 338—347, and the general results, pp. 347—348. We refer to the Recommendations, Nos. 22—26 on pp. 170, 171, for the conclusions arrived at; and on the whole of this chapter, see pp. 168—171.

CHAPTER VIII.

External relations of the Department to Individuals and Public Bodies.

It was a tribute to the impartial fairness, as well as the intelligence and ability of the Rev. W. Miller, Principal of the Christian College, Madras, when the Commission entrusted the writing of this important chapter to one whose pre-eminence as a teacher was equalled by his earnest advocacy of the great principles of the Despatch of 1854 in favour of primary education, and the principle of grants-in-aid of private and local enterprise. Nor has their confidence been misplaced. The treatment of the subject, while true to what he holds to be the policy of that Despatch, by which all were bound to abide, is free from all narrowness or bigotry.

It is impossible to condense this chapter in a way that will satisfy either the writer or the reader, and I am happy to be able to announce that there are a few copies of a reprint of it, made in Madras, which may be had on application.¹

In our brief outline of the 130 folio pages of this chapter, we shall adhere to the divisions of the sub-

¹ NOTE.—“ Chapters from the Report of the Education Commission,” reprinted in Madras, to be had of the writer, at 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, price 2s. 6d.

ject by which it is introduced, and which we shall take in their order.

Section 1.—The relation of the State to Non-Departmental effort.

The objects of the Despatch of 1854 are briefly stated, specially regarding the grant-in-aid system, showing that that system was an inseparable and fundamental part of the policy therein laid down, and consistently adhered to by all subsequent Despatches on education, and that, in the present condition of the country, when the State could set apart so small a sum for the education of the people, and when there was in the habits and traditions of the higher classes a fund of generous sentiment on which to draw for such an object, it would be the wisdom of the Government to foster that spirit, and carry out the policy so wisely laid down, but imperfectly applied hitherto (Report, pp. 351—357).

THE SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE GRANT-IN-AID is pointed out, and some other features of the Despatch of 1854 bearing on the relation of the State to private effort, which he sums up in these words : “ The State undertook (1) to give pecuniary assistance on the grant-in-aid system to efficient schools and colleges ; (2) to direct their efforts and afford them counsel and advice ; (3) to encourage and reward the desire for learning in various ways, but chiefly by the establishing of Universities ; (4) to take measures for providing a due supply of teachers, and for making the profession of teaching honourable and respected.” Of all these provisions the most important and far-reaching was the introduction of

the grant-in-aid system (Report, p. 355 ; see pages 352—357).

Section 2.—The Growth of Private Enterprise in Education.

This subject is followed out with much fulness of detail in all the provinces of India, giving the history of private effort in each, both before and since the era of the Despatch of 1854, with the present state of that form of education in each province, and ends with a table giving the financial results, which show that wherever the system has received anything like fair play, the results have been most satisfactory, and quite sufficient to encourage its extension all over India. He shows, in Madras and Bengal, even with only partial encouragement, the result has been that, in the former the proportion of public funds expended on education, compared with its entire cost, is Rs. 13.97.448 to Rs. 29.92.707, or 46.66 ; and the latter, Rs. 22.97.917 to Rs. 55.59.295, or 41.33 per cent. ; while in other provinces, where the system has been either neglected or discouraged, the proportion rises to 74.76, 81.23, and even as high as 92.07 per cent.

This part of the subject closes with the following remark : “ In short, experience has shown that private effort cannot attain the development or produce the results anticipated in the Despatch of 1854, unless the action of Government is such as to lead the community at large to feel that most departmental institutions are chiefly intended to supply a temporary want, and that the people must

themselves more largely provide the means of instruction" (Report, p. 380).

Section 3.—General view of the Education provided by Private Effort in 1881-82, and of the Aid afforded it.

We cannot give more than a reference to the many tables under this section: they are of considerable value, but are surrounded by so many cautions that it would require much of the letter-press as well as the figures to make them of much use. Besides, it appears to us that the comparison between the years 1870-71 and 1881-82 is vitiated by the error to which we called attention under the head of "Primary Instruction." The general result is that there were 1,211,034 boys and 45,113 girls attending aided schools, and 207,488 boys and 9464 girls in unaided schools, and that, adding these two classes of institutions together, 66·74 per cent. of the children under instruction were being educated by private enterprise, either with or without the aid of Government. If to these we add the large number of indigenous schools, which in 1871 were estimated to contain 1,000,000 of children under some kind of instruction, and in 1882 about 360,000, we see, first of all, how important a part private enterprise plays in education in India; and, second, how much the recent increase of education in the lower departments is due to a transference of these indigenous schools to local effort, under Government direction and encouragement.

The tables clearly bring out the fact that there

has been a great and growing tendency to neglect the growth of *aided* institutions of the higher class—the class which can best turn it to account, and which the Despatch of 1854 specially commended for encouragement by that form of assistance (Report, p. 380—390).

THE EXPENDITURE on aided, as compared with departmental agency, is given at length from p. 390—397 of the Report. At p. 392 it is said, “Now we have seen that there has been no increase in the proportion of public funds spent on grants-in-aid generally. Since, therefore, there has been a great and undoubted increase in the proportion of public funds spent on aided primary schools, it is clear there must have been a corresponding reduction in the proportion of such funds applied to the encouragement of advanced institutions under private managers;” and on p. 394, “Thus, while the entire sum expended on education from public funds has increased by 35·94 per cent. in the last eleven years, the aid extended to private effort in that particular field where most aid was intended to be given it, has been reduced.”

We give the concluding paragraph of this section as penned by Mr. Miller and accepted by the Commission:—

“**Summary.**—The tables illustrate many questions of no small importance, in addition to those to which we have drawn particular attention; but on other points they must be left to speak for themselves. The warning may be repeated here that the statistics for 1871 are not, except for colleges, so trustworthy as to make it safe to push very far the contrast between the two periods chosen for comparison. The real differences undoubtedly vary in some degree from those shown in the tables.

Nevertheless, after long and careful investigation, we are satisfied that there is ample and unquestionable ground for the five general inferences with which we shall close this section of the chapter. Our inferences are these:—

- (1) Such increased encouragement as has been given to private effort by means of the grant-in-aid system, has been in the extension of primary, and not, as the Despatches chiefly contemplate, of more advanced education.
- (2) In Bengal, Assam, and the Central Provinces, the state of matters, so far as encouragement to private effort in the provision of advanced education is concerned, is substantially the same as in 1870-71. If there has been no further progress towards carrying out the policy laid down in 1854 for placing the main reliance for the provision of advanced education on aided private effort, there has at least been no important retrogression.
- (3) In Bombay, the Punjab, Coorg, and the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, at no time have sufficient endeavours been made to carry out those provisions of the Despatch of 1854, which bear on private effort; but Bombay alone among the provinces has in recent years given materially increased encouragement to private effort in providing advanced education, while it has at the same time not greatly increased its outlay on advanced departmental institutions generally, and has diminished its net outlay from public funds on departmental colleges.
- (4) In the North-Western Provinces and Madras, the general tendency during the eleven years under review has been to provide higher education more and more by means of departmental agency, and to lessen the encouragement to private managers of advanced institutions, thus reversing the policy of the Despatch of 1854. In Madras, such a reversal of policy is the more striking, because, up to 1870-71 and for several years afterwards, the success of the system of grants-in-aid was particularly conspicuous.
- (5) With due encouragement from the State, private effort is capable, in favourable circumstances, of promoting education at the secondary, and in a less degree at the collegiate stage at a far more rapid rate, and in both cases at far less expense than have marked the progress of such education hitherto."

Section 4.—System of Grants-in-Aid, their advantages and disadvantages.

The various systems are discussed at length under their various heads of "Salary Grants." (p. 401), "The Result System" (p. 405), "The Combined System" (p. 410), "Fixed Period Grants" (p. 410), "Capitation Grants" and "Special Grants." After weighing the advantages and disadvantages, he sums up the results in a brief comment on the Recommendations agreed to by the Commission, which we need not repeat, as they are given in full after our analysis (Report, p. 171).

The spirit of the comments is embodied in the following paragraph, with which he begins the discussion of the subject:—

"A perfect System unattainable.—There are difficulties and drawbacks in all systems. No more can reasonably be looked for than to combine as many advantages with as few disadvantages as possible; and in determining how this is to be done, much will necessarily depend not only on the advancement and social condition of each province and the nature of the agencies at work in it, but also on the system to which managers of schools have become accustomed, and which, whether rightly or wrongly, they prefer."

Section 5.—Sufficiency or insufficiency of the amount of Aid at present afforded to Private Effort.

The result of a careful inquiry, which cannot be abridged, leads to the conclusion that in the vast majority of cases the amount of aid given to private enterprise is quite inadequate, and especially so in girls' schools; and it is satisfactory to find that the Recommendations of the Commission are decidedly in favour of a more liberal treatment of all kinds of

aided institutions in future, with the exception of secondary and higher schools in our presidency towns, in which the demand for an English education is so pronounced as to make schools of this class wholly or almost self-supporting. The Recommendations regarding grants to girls' schools are considerate and liberal (Report, pp. 416—423).

Section 6.—Points suggested by the Evidence, Memorials, and Provincial Reports, as to the various systems of Aid and their administration.

The interest of this section is chiefly historical, now that Recommendations are drawn up to remedy the evils complained of. But if these Recommendations be not carried out, or fail to accomplish the end desired, the evidence will need to be reviewed on a more extended scale than it is even here. We content ourselves with quoting the "CONCLUSION :"—

"**Conclusion.**—Such is a digest of the complaints that have been made against the systems of aid at present in force, and against the method and the spirit in which they have been administered in some provinces. We may repeat that we have confined our attention in this review to the evidence of witnesses who are more or less dissatisfied with the existing system, and that the main purpose of the section has been merely to notice the opinions expressed by them. We have seen, however, in Section 3 of the present chapter, that the development of education has only to a small extent followed the lines marked out in 1854; and our review appears to be enough to show that this fact is due in a considerable degree to the distinct, and, in some provinces, the strong preference shown by the Department for working through officers of its own rather than by means of private agency. We shall next attempt the more grateful task of showing how the complaints that have been made, so far as they appear to us to have a solid basis, may be obviated in the future."

Section 7.—Relations of private enterprise in Education with (a) the Department; (b) competing Private Institutions.

This section lays down the following as essential conditions of success, which we give in the words of the Report: 1st. "Institutions under private managers cannot be successful unless they are frankly accepted as an essential part of the general scheme of education." After reasoning this out, he quotes the Recommendations 14—17. (See p. 173; Report, p. 436; see also Recommendations in Chapters III. and V., pp. 165 and 168.) 2nd. "The next condition essential to the success of private effort is that its freedom be not interfered with" (Recommendation 18; see also Chapters III. and V.). 3rd. "Every proper means must be employed to favour the establishment of new schools in places where education is already provided by Government, as well as in others" (Recommendation 19). 4th. "That the fees in all secondary schools and colleges that are managed by the Department be kept as high as possible, and higher than aided institutions of a corresponding class" (Recommendation 10 of Chapter III., and 10 of Chapter IV.). 5th. The fifth condition of success of private effort is "that room must be made for it as its area gradually expands." 6th. "Private effort must be especially preferred to every other mode of spreading education in cases where it is the agency best adapted to accomplish the end in view. Such a case there is in female education." (See Recommendation 20, p. 173; Report, pp. 438—442.)

Section 8.—Relations of private effort with Local and Municipal Boards.

On this section we can only refer to the Recommendations following Chapter VI., p. 173, and p. 151 on the "Resolution of the Indian Government on Local Government." Also chapter on "Primary Instruction" (Report, pp. 442—444).

Section 9.—The future of Aided Education.

There is nothing in this section calling for any special notice. It is not of much practical value, and deals chiefly in conjectures and general suggestions. (See Report, pp. 444—451.)

Section 10.—Withdrawal of the State from the direct provision and management of Education, especially of the higher Education.

This important section gives occasion for the display of Mr. Miller's great ability and extensive knowledge of the subject, and for all his breadth and caution in writing on the most delicate subject which the Commission has to deal with. There is no doubt that if at liberty to express his personal opinions, it would have been different in some respects. But in the meantime we shall give, as fully and fairly as we can, the substance of the section, and at the close may notice some points on which we differ from the views expressed. As the subject is a disputed one, we shall give as much as possible the words of the Report.

The diversity of views came strongly out in the evidence of the witnesses, who expressed every possible

shade of opinion. The differences of opinion within the Commission, though wide, were still limited by the principles of the Despatch of 1854, to which they were bound by the "Resolution" of the Government in appointing it; all were constrained to admit, on the one hand, that it was a part of Government policy to transfer the colleges and high schools to local management; but, on the other, that this was not to be done to the injury of the higher education. Some thought the time for transference had come; others that it would not arrive for many a long year. All were of one mind as to the propriety of handing these higher institutions, when transferred, to the hands of natives, or residents who might work along with them on their own lines; and not to missionary bodies who would work them for purposes of proselytism. In this view, missionaries, both on the Commission and those who appeared as witnesses, were unanimous. They thought that to transfer Government secular institutions to religious societies would be unfair; that such a step would be, or appear to be, such an act of bad faith, as to have a very prejudicial effect on the natives of India, in prejudicing them against both missionary bodies and the Government.

CONSIDERATIONS IN FAVOUR OF WITHDRAWAL are first given; such as, that it would save the funds of the Government. It is shown that a student in a Department college costs the State, on an average, as much as would educate eight students in an aided college; or, as it is put more correctly, Rs. 254 per annum in the former, and Rs. 35 in the latter, or 8½ to 1. And in secondary schools, "It appears that

the net cost of each pupil in a departmental secondary school is Rs. 22 per annum, as against Rs. 5 in a corresponding aided school." Thus the departmental secondary school is rather more than four times as costly as the aided one (Report, p. 456).

It is proved by statistical returns, that if the whole of the departmental colleges and secondary schools were given up, and the same number of pupils taught at the present rate in aided institutions, there would at once be a saving of £163,100; or, as otherwise put, "If it were possible to put all departmental colleges and secondary schools on the same footing as aided institutions, the whole present amount of work would be done for less than Rs. 11.00.000 per annum, and the Rs. 16.31.000 saved, might therefore, if applied in the form of grants-in-aid, become the means of raising the means of secondary and collegiate education to about two and a half times the present amount" (Report, p. 457).

The only limits to the full force of this statement are said to be—first, that no one would ever think of proposing a sweeping measure for the sudden change required to accomplish such a result. It could only be brought about by slow and cautious steps; and second, it is not desirable that grants to aided institutions should remain at the low rate of past years. With these limitations the fact is deserving of earnest consideration, and to be kept before the attention of the Government.

"THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVING THE RESULTS OF PRIVATE EFFORT," and "THE NEED OF VARIETY IN THE TYPE OF EDUCATION," are stated as considerations in favour of withdrawal. On the latter, it is observed

that "experience is held to show that, whenever private persons have enterprise enough to set up a school or college, they have independence enough to follow their own line in determining its character; adopting all that is valuable in the departmental model, and rejecting such parts of it as they may not consider suited to their purpose" (Report, p. 459).

"THE ENCOURAGEMENT TO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION" is given as the final consideration in favour of the withdrawal of Government colleges and secondary schools. Attention might have been more strongly called to the frequent and strongly-expressed opinions of witnesses from all the provinces of India in favour of religious teaching, and that not by missionaries or devout Englishmen, but by the most influential and sincere Hindus and Muhammadans. It is mildly put in the Report thus: "The evidence we have taken shows that in some provinces there is a deeply-seated and widely-spread desire that culture and religion should not be divorced, and that this desire is shared by some representatives of native thought in every province;" and the paragraph closes with the remark:—

"Apart from the strictly moral or religious aspect of this question, we may point out that the existence of institutions of the various classes thus referred to will contribute to the intellectual development of the Indian community by arousing inquiry on the highest themes of human thought, and thus helping to meet what is probably the greatest danger of all higher education in India at present—the too exclusive attention to the mere passing of examinations and to the personal advantages to be derived therefrom" (p. 460).

These considerations *in favour* of withdrawal are

followed by a series *against* such a step; such as, "THE DANGER OF A FALSE IMPRESSION BEING MADE ON THE PUBLIC MIND." On which it is said, "Whatever steps are taken in the direction of withdrawal, must therefore be taken in such a way as to make it clear beyond the possibility of doubt that they are taken for the benefit and extension, and not for the injury of the higher education." This is elsewhere shown to be within the range of possibility.

"THE DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING COLLEGES OF THE HIGHEST TYPE BY NATIVE EFFORT," and "THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS IN KEEPING UP THE STANDARD OF EDUCATION," are dwelt on as important considerations, but neither of them as insuperable obstacles to withdrawal. Natives have shown their capacity for maintaining institutions of a very high type, and of keeping up a very high standard of education.

"THE PRESENT STATE OF POPULAR FEELING" is allowed to be a good reason for exercising caution, and for allowing time and discussion to effect a change before any great movement is made in withdrawing institutions which have long maintained their hold on the public mind; but while an argument for delay and caution, it is not conclusive for inaction in what is the avowed and wise policy of the Despatch of 1854, and of all succeeding Governments.

We give the final conclusions arrived at in the words of the Report:—

"General Conclusion arrived at.—Our discussions brought out clearly the fact that, while anxious to encourage any natural and unforced transfer of institutions from departmental

to private management, we are not prepared, as a body, to adopt any form of expression that may be construed into a demand for the immediate or general withdrawal of the State from the provision of the means of high education. We are convinced that while transfer of management under the limitations stated is eminently desirable, it is only by slow and cautious steps that it can ever be really attained. We are convinced that the wisest policy is to consider each case on its own merits, and whenever a body of native gentlemen are willing to undertake the management of a college or secondary school, to hold out to them every inducement and encouragement, provided there is a reasonable prospect that the cause of education will not suffer from the transfer of management."

"We therefore recommend, in the first place, that in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, whenever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

"This Recommendation, which is of course subject to certain exceptions to be hereafter stated, secured our unanimous approval, and may be understood to show the extent to which we are agreed in desiring to see steps taken towards the substitution of private for departmental management. It implies that we regard the form of management of any institution which the common good requires to be kept up, as a matter subordinate to the efficiency of such management. But it implies also that when permanence and efficiency are adequately secured, we regard an institution that is provided by the people for themselves as greatly preferable to one that is provided by official agency. We think it well that this preference should be marked by special encouragement being held out to those who are willing to take over the management of institutions now in the hands of the Department.

"We hope that the result of thus encouraging, rather than forcing the change desired by Government will be that, in due time, and without the smallest permanent injury to high education, departmental institutions will be mainly transferred to private management; that the function of the State will be largely confined to aid, supervision and control; and that high education will become more widely extended, more varied in character, and more economical than it is at present. This end should be kept steadily in view, and the extent to which the Department is able to work towards it should be regarded

as an important element in judging of its success. But the attempt to reach this end prematurely, that is, before at least the more thoughtful members of the native community are prepared cordially to approve it, would certainly do more to retard than to hasten its accomplishment" (Report, p. 466).

After giving the Recommendations, which will be found in their place, and the reasons for their adoption, which may be gathered from the preceding pages, the section closes with the *expression of the hope* "that the line of action we have marked out in the Recommendations will result—not all at once, yet with no longer interval than is always required for changes fruitful of large results—in public sentiment taking a direction which will lead to the gradual, and by and by to the rapid, transfer to bodies of native gentlemen of the institutions now maintained by Government" (Report, p. 470).

It is clearly maintained throughout, as an undisputed principle, THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FROM DIRECT GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT AND SUPPORT, DOES NOT IMPLY THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND ENCOURAGEMENT. This is allowed on all hands to be a necessary condition of educational success, as well as an undoubted prerogative and duty of Government, especially in a country like India. (See Recommendations on p. 475 of Report; and our Analysis, p. 141; and Recommendation, p. 171.)

CHAPTER IX.

Education of Classes requiring Special Treatment.

THESE classes are said to be—(1) native nobility, (2) Musalmans, (3) half-civilized aboriginal tribes, (4) Low-caste Hindus, (5) the very poor classes.

1. The NATIVE NOBILITY, who have been hitherto shut out from the higher posts under Government, owing to their own pride and prejudices, or from the form of our education not being suited to their habits, or other causes, have been made the subject of special inquiry. The following sketch from the pen of Mr. Deighton, who wrote this chapter, is interesting as giving an idea of the state of society with which Government has to deal. Recalling the feeling of our own nobility in former times, of which Sir Walter Scott gives such lively pictures in his description of that transition period of our history which finds emphatic expression from the lips of the old Border Chief,—

“Thanks to Saint Bothan, son of mine,
Save Gawain, ne’er could pen a line.”

In most parts of India, however, though not in all, it is the soft love of ease and luxury, rather than the fierce spirit of war and love for dangerous sports, which has to be contended with.

"As yet, education has scarcely 'touched these mountain tops;' though here and there are instances of princes and chiefs who, of their own accord, or from the circumstance of their being placed under the tutelage of British officers, have themselves accepted an education after European methods and endeavoured to make it popular among those subject to their influence. That, as a whole, the native aristocracy should have held aloof is not a matter for wonder. In the first place, the inducement which springs from an unsatisfied desire has been almost entirely absent. The native prince has his own traditional standard of civilization with which, as a rule, he is satisfied. His horizon hardly extends beyond his own court. His administration is practical in character, and is bounded rather by what his subjects are used to, than what is adapted to the progressive needs of Western society. The pleasures which satisfied his forefathers satisfy him, and in his national poetry he finds abundant food for his literary tastes. The native noble is the native prince in small. If his means are ample for his favourite pursuits, he sees no reason why he should labour with a view to some visionary enjoyment. If they are not, it never occurs to him that books can supply the want. From his boyhood everything about him combines to thrust education into the background. The influence of the zenana is generally opposed to any enlightenment. Early marriage brings with it hindrances and distractions. The custom of living far away from the larger centres forbids much interest in matters of general importance. In some cases hereditary instinct leads him to regard education as scarcely better than a disgrace. In others, education would be accepted if made easy to obtain, and if free from all hazard of social contamination.

"In the second place, with the exceptions which we shall presently notice, no measures of any importance have been taken to attract these classes towards our education. Arrangements have indeed been made in most provinces for educating minors under the charge of the District Court or the Court of Wards. From various causes, however, little has resulted from such endeavours; and there does not seem much prospect, within any period to which it is worth while to look forward, that the titled classes generally will allow their sons to associate with the students of our ordinary schools and colleges. This conviction has led to the establishment of certain special colleges, of which one of the earliest suggestions was made in 1869 by Captain Walter, then Political Agent at Bhurtpur. In describing the circumstances under which the

Maharaja of that State had been brought up, Captain Walter pointed out that we had not 'yet thoroughly fathomed the duty that we owe to our feudatories' in the matter of education. Especially in regard to minors under our charge he exhibited the difficulties of our position and the way in which they might be met. 'We require,' he said, 'a college on an extensive scale, with ample accommodation within its walls for a large number of pupils and the followers (few in number, of course) who would accompany them. A complete staff of thoroughly educated English gentlemen, not mere book-worms, but men fond of field sports and out-door exercise, would be necessary, and with these should be associated the *élite* of the native gentlemen belonging to the Educational Department. The pupils, or rather their guardians, the tutors, should be allowed ample funds from the coffers of the State to which they belonged, and the holidays should be spent in constant travel all over the continent of India, with an occasional visit to their homes.' Captain Walter's idea commended itself to the Government of India, and the opinion of the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India was asked as to the possibility of carrying out such a scheme" (Report, p. 481).

"About the same time the Earl of Mayo, in an address to the nobles of Rajputana assembled in durbar at Ajmir, 'made known his strong desire to establish in that city a college for the education of the sons and relatives of the chiefs, nobles, and principal thakooras of Rajputana, and intimated his intention of communicating to the chiefs the details of the proposed scheme at an early date'" (Report, p. 481).

"Before long an endowment fund of nearly seven lakhs of rupees had been subscribed by the chiefs, to which the Government promised an equivalent sum. The first stone of the Government Boarding-House was laid in May, 1873; and about the same time other board-houses, whose cost was borne by the Maharajas of Udaipur and Jaipur, were also begun. The Council, as finally settled, was to consist of all the principal chiefs of Rajputana and the political agents accredited to their States, with the Viceroy as President, and the agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana as Vice-President" (Report, p. 482).

"At first the attainments of the boys were very limited, few of them having any knowledge of English or much knowledge of even their own vernaculars. Nor, which was more surprising, did they show much interest in out-door games or athletics. Even riding was little cared for; boys from different States would not amalgamate; and the general want

of spirit was very marked. But before long the attendance at the playground, at first enforced, became voluntary; the riding classes quickly grew popular; and cricket, rounders, and football were played with a zest scarcely less keen than that shown at an English school. Considerable progress was also made year by year in the standard of instruction, and English, Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Urdu, arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, history, and geography are now among the studies of the college. It is not of course desired to make these young chiefs great scholars, but to encourage in them a healthy tone and manly habits" (Report, p. 482):

"At the beginning of last year there were sixty-two pupils in residence from the various States of Alwar, Ajmir, Bikanir, Dholpur, Jaipur, Jhalawar, Kishengarh, Kotah, Mewar, Marwar, Sirohi, and Tonk; and the punctuality with which the pupils returned after the holidays was in marked contrast with the dilatoriness shown in the first few years. All the principal States had erected boarding-houses for their own cadets, and the college building was nearly finished. Similar in character, though upon a smaller scale, is the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar, founded in 1870-71, and now containing thirty-four pupils. The Rajaram College in Kolhapur, the Indore College, the Girasia School at Wadhwan in Kathiawar, and the Talukdari School at Sadra in Gujarat also have special classes for the sons of native chiefs and large landed proprietors. In Madras and Bengal there are no separate institutions of this kind" (Report, p. 482).

These efforts are sufficient encouragement to proceed on the same lines, and the Recommendations (1 and 2) given on pp. 48, 49 are likely to accomplish much good, both to the natives and to the Government, by providing a higher type of public servants for the higher offices of the State.

2. THE MUHAMMADANS form another class requiring special treatment. To show how little had been accomplished in the way of bringing them under our modern school system, it is shown that, out of a population of 38,356,507 of Muhammadans in the parts of India subject to the inquiry, there were only 114,816 of their children in "schools of

which the Department had cognizance." The following is the distribution of their numbers in the different provinces in 1871-72 (Report, p. 484):—

Province.	Muhammadian Population.	Muhammadian Children at School.
Madras	1,872,214	5,531
Bombay	2,528,344	15,684
Bengal and Assam	19,553,420	28,411
North-Western Provinces	4,188,751	28,990
Oudh	1,111,290	12,417
Punjab	9,102,488	23,783
Total	38,356,507	114,816

How can we account for such a total neglect of, or aversion to our schools, in a race which at one time was noted for its culture, as compared at least with our former experience in the West, when Fez and Cordova were seats of learning, and Haroun-Al-Rachid gave orders *that every mosque throughout his vast empire should support a school or college*; anticipating in the eighth century the enlightened policy of John Knox in the sixteenth? We give the reasons as they appear in the Report:—

“Reasons alleged by the Muhammadans for holding aloof from the Education offered in Government Schools.—What the causes were which deterred the Muhammadans from such cultivation was debated even among themselves. While some held that the absence of instruction in the tenets of their faith, and still more the injurious effects of English education in creating a disbelief in religion, were the main obstacles, others, though a small minority, were of opinion that religion had little to do with the question. Some contended that the system of education prevailing in Government schools and colleges corrupted the morals and manners of the pupils, and that for this reason the better classes would not subject their sons to dangerous contact. The small proportion of Muhammadan teachers in Government institutions; the unwilling-

ness of Government educational officers to accept the counsel and co-operation of Muhammadans; numerous minor faults in the Departmental system; the comparatively small progress in real learning made by the pupils in Government schools; the practice among the well-to-do Muhammadans of educating their children at home; the indolence and improvidence too common among them; their hereditary love of the profession of arms; the absence of friendly intercourse between Muhammadans and Englishmen; the unwillingness felt by the better born to associate with those lower in the social scale; the poverty nearly general among Muhammadans; the coldness of Government towards the race; the use in Government schools of books whose tone was hostile or scornful towards the Muhammadan religion;—these and a variety of other causes have been put forward at different times by members of the Muhammadan community to account for the scant appreciation which an English education has received at their hands. All such causes may have combined towards a general result, but a candid Muhammadan would probably admit that the most powerful factors are to be found in pride of race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears, and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam. But whatever the causes, the fact remained; though the inquiries made in 1871-73 went to prove that, except in the matter of the higher education, there had been a tendency to exaggerate the backwardness of the Muhammadans" (p. 483).

Since 1872 a good deal has been done to meet this crying want, and the history of the efforts which have been made in the different provinces is given at length (Report, pp. 485—496). The result of these efforts has been the increase of Muhammadan pupils from 114,816 in 1871-72, to 261,887 in 1881-82, of whom 1000 were in Madrasas, or Oriental colleges, and 106 in English colleges.

Much of the good effected was through the independent efforts of the Musalmans themselves, of whom Maulavi Sayyid Ahmad Khan, whose life has been devoted to the cause of liberal education, was

the distinguished leader. Under the patronage of men like Sir Salar Jung, and other illustrious princes and nobles, and of such English gentlemen as Lord Stanley of Alderley, Earl Lytton, Sir William Muir, and Sir John Strachey, the society which they founded exerted a great influence, and has done much to remove prejudices and prepare the way for the education of their co-religionists (Report, p. 492).

A MEMORIAL from the "*National Muhammadan Association*" which came before the Association, brings out so clearly the grievances of which that important section of the Indian community complain, that we must quote some of the more important passages as abridged in the Report. From the use made of it by Government, in sending it to all the Provincial Governments for their consideration and opinion, it has assumed a kind of national significance, and it is deeply pathetic as coming from the former conquerors and rulers of India.

"The memorialists begin by setting forth the causes 'which have led to the decadence and ruin of so many Muhammadan families in India.' These were principally three. First, the ousting of Persian as the language of official use, and the substitution of English or the vernacular; secondly, the resumption between 1828 and 1846 of the revenue-free grants which, under the Muhammadan rule, were generally made to men of learning for charitable and pious uses; thirdly, the order passed in 1864 that English alone should be the language of examination for the more coveted appointments in the subordinate civil service.

"The combination of these causes resulted, according to the memorialists, in a generally impoverishment of the Musalman race, and this impoverishment in its turn has prevented them from obtaining such an education as would fit them for a useful and respectable career. It has been to no purpose, the memorialists urge, that for the 'last twenty years the

Musalmans have made strenuous efforts to qualify themselves to enter the lists successfully with the Hindus, for, with every avenue to public employment already jealously blocked by members of a different race, it is almost impossible for a Muhammadan candidate to obtain a footing in any Government office.' The various orders, issued from time to time, that a proper regard should be paid to the claims of Musalmans, had practically been inoperative.

"One reason of this was that undue importance was attached to University education, an education which, until very recently, had not taken root among the Muhammadans, though many of them possessed 'as thorough an acquaintance with the English language as any ordinary B.A.' This affected the Musalmans both generally as regarded all Government employ, and specially as regarded the subordinate judicial service. Their numerical inferiority in this branch of the administration was ascribed to the decision that no one in Bengal should be appointed a Munsiff unless he was a B.L. of the Calcutta University, to attain which degree it was necessary that the candidate should first have passed the B.A. examination.

"Another grievance was the substitution of the Nagari for the Persian character in the Courts of Behar, where, according to the memorialists, the Hindus were, to all intents and purposes, Musalmans, where the change had proved vexatious to the higher classes, had hindered the administration of justice, had failed to satisfy the advocates of Hindi, and was for various reasons objectionable to all classes.

"The memorialists, therefore, asked (1) that 'in the dispensation of State patronage, no regard should be paid to mere University degrees, but the qualifications of the candidates should be judged by an independent standard. It will not be considered presumptuous on your memorialists' part if they venture to submit that stamina and force of character are as necessary in the lower, as in the higher walks of life, and these qualities can scarcely be attested by University examinations;' (2) that 'separate examinations may be instituted for appointments to the subordinate judicial service without the candidates being required to submit to the preliminary condition of passing the Bachelor of Arts Examination of the Calcutta University;' (3) that since, 'owing to the general impoverishment of the Musalman community, the confiscation of their scholastic foundations, the neglect, ruin, and waste of their charitable endowments,' Muhammadan education has 'fallen entirely into the background, similar

facilities should be afforded to the Muhammadans as are being offered to the Eurasian community. They are fairly entitled to ask that the large funds appertaining to the various endowments which still exist under the control and direction of the Government should be scrupulously and religiously applied to promote Muhammadan education ;' (4) that ' the order substituting the Nagari character for the Persian in the Behar Courts should be withdrawn ;' (5) ' that a special Commission should be assembled to examine the whole question of Musalman education, and to devise a practical scheme for the purpose ' ' (Report, p. 498).

In concluding, attention is drawn to three obstacles which stand in the way of the Muhammadan succeeding in the race for office or riches ; of which one, his comparative poverty, must excite our sympathy, the other two call forth our respect ; these are, first, the desire of the parents that their sons should seek learning for *its own sake*, and not for the sake of its material advantages, which is almost the universal aim of the Hindu in attending college ; and second, the determination that the education of their children shall be first and supremely religious. It is sad that, under a Christian Government, such a determination should lead to disappointment and failure in the life-race of her subjects. The following words of the Report are clear and unmistakable :—
“ There are causes of a strictly educational character, which heavily weight it (the Muhammadan community) in the race of life. The teaching of the mosque must precede the secular lessons of the school. The one object of a young Hindu is to obtain an education which will fit him for an official or professional career. But before the young Muhammadan is allowed to turn his thoughts to secular instruction, he must commonly pass some

years in going through a course of sacred learning. The Muhammadan boy, therefore, enters school later than the Hindu" (Report, p. 505).

It would be well to try and find out whether the strictly secular and absorbing study of our Government colleges has helped to foster this separation of these two kinds of instruction. We are glad to find that in future, steps are to be taken for introducing secular study into the mosque schools, and to encourage religious teaching in our secular schools and colleges, by giving a preference to aided institutions, in which it can be freely imparted by all classes and sects. The Recommendations for the schools of the Muhammadans are not only just, but generous. (See p. 177).

3. THE ABORIGINAL RACES are briefly treated of in pp. 507—512. It appears that, while it is thought that in India there are as many as forty millions who may be called aborigines, there are only about $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of these who require any special treatment, from being cut off by character and custom from the other more civilized races of the country.

Of this class of aborigines, excluding about a million and a half, who live beyond the limits assigned to the inquiries of the Commission, being found in the Native States of Rajputana, Central India, and Baroda : of the rest, $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions inhabit Bengal and Assam, 930,000 belong to Bombay, and 1,750,000 are found in the Central Provinces. The number of the children of this class attending Department schools is only nominal. In 1871-72 there were 1017 of them in those of Bombay, and in 1881-82 they had risen to 2730. In 1881-82

there were 2336 Santhals, 154 Paharias, 893 Khonds, 1843 of the tribes inhabiting Khasia and the Jaintia hills, 33 Mughes and Chukmas, and 7513 Kols, attending various schools in Bengal; yielding a total of 13,078 pupils at school in that year, including 1400 Christians. Of the 13,078 at school, 464 (of whom 236 are Christians) were at *secondary* schools, 195 (of whom 179 are Christians) were at normal schools, and 26 (Christians) at industrial schools (Report, p. 508).

In trying to reach these aboriginal races, the Commission expressed the opinion that they were best dealt with by aided institutions; and as their notions of religion are crude, and they are not much troubled with fanatical prejudices, they proposed to offer special encouragement to religious societies to take them in hand, with the promise of liberal aid, and perfect freedom in religious teaching, &c. (See Recommendations, p. 178.)

We cannot enter on the disputed question of the language in which they should be taught, many of which have not yet been reduced to a written form. Many contend that it would be better that they should be taught the languages of their more civilized neighbours, as in many cases they are obliged to acquire it for the intercourse of daily life. But this does not apply to all of these tribes.

4. The Low CASTES and (5) the VERY POOR received careful consideration, and the broad principle was reasserted that all schools belonging to or aided by Government were bound to admit the children of the lowest, or of no caste, and if high-caste children or their parents objected, they were at liberty to

remove their own children, and provide schools for themselves. But at the same time it was felt that in certain circumstances it might be injurious to the cause of education rigidly to enforce such a rule, and not advantageous to the low castes themselves, and that it might in a few cases be desirable to provide schools for low castes and for the very poor, separately, whose fees would either be extremely low or none at all. (See Report, pp. 513—518, and Recommendations, p. 178.)

CHAPTER X.

Female Education.

ONE unavoidable result of the division of labour in drawing up the Report is the rather frequent recurrence of the same subject under the different sections to which the work was committed. We are quite prepared to overlook any inconvenience caused by this arrangement for the sake of the advantages gained, and in no subject are we more disposed to tolerate, we may say to welcome, repetition, than in that of female education. It will make it less necessary, however, that we devote much space to this chapter. It was a subject which occupied much thought, and bulked largely on the inquiry; and the President of the Commission exerted all his talent and eloquence in spreading right views on female education, and infusing a right spirit among the people wherever he went during the inquiry. The Hon. Mr. Hunter wrote this chapter also, and we gladly transfer to our pages the following introductory paragraph on the *difficulties* in the way of the rapid spread of education among the females of India, and the exquisite picture in the second paragraph of the state of education among women in India in ancient times. It is a well-known fact that the false position and much of the misery of

the females of India is to be traced to the influence of Muhammadan ideas and customs. Perhaps one of the most pernicious and permanent of the evils brought on India by the Muhammadan conquest is the ignorance and jealous seclusion of women.

“Introductory.—Female education in India has to encounter peculiar difficulties. These difficulties are partly due to the circumstance that the East India Company did not turn its attention to the subject until many years after it had begun to direct its efforts towards the education of boys. But the most serious impediments arise, not so much from the action or inaction of the ruling power, as from the customs of the people themselves. In the first place, the effective desire for education as a means of earning a livelihood does not exist as regards the female part of the population. There is evidence before the Commission that a demand for girls’ education is slowly, but surely, springing up among the natives. There is also evidence to show that this desire is of comparatively recent origin, and that it would be easy to exaggerate its extent and force. In the second place, the social customs of India in regard to child-marriage, and the seclusion in which women of the well-to-do classes spend their married life in most parts of the country, create difficulties which embarrass the promoters of female education at every step. The duration of the school-going age for girls is much shorter than that for boys. It usually terminates at nine, and seldom extends beyond the eleventh year. At so early an age a girl’s education is scarcely begun; and in very few cases has the married child the opportunity of going on with her education after she leaves school.

“In the third place, the supply of teachers for girls’ schools is more scanty in quantity, and less satisfactory in quality, than the supply of teachers for boys’ schools. Finally, the State system of instruction is conducted in a large measure by a male staff; and, although female teachers are being gradually trained in very inadequate numbers, the direction and inspection remain in the hands of male officers, while the text-books are, as a rule, framed with a view to the education of boys rather than of girls. The Commission has collected evidence, both oral and documentary, on each of these four chief causes of the backwardness of female education in India. They have endeavoured, after anxious consideration, to meet

the difficulties by the specific Recommendations enumerated at the end of this chapter. But in entering on the subject of girls' education, we desire it to be understood that practical difficulties exist which cannot be solved by any Recommendations of a Commission, or even by the zealous action of Government, but only by the growth of public opinion among the natives themselves."

"Female Education in Ancient India.—While endorsing the sentiments of the Despatches in regard both to the promotion of female education and to the difficulties which stand in the way of any sudden expansion, we do not under-rate what had been effected in earlier periods by the natives of India themselves. Apart from the Sanskrit traditions of women of learning and literary merit in pre-historic and mediæval times, there can be no doubt that when the British obtained possession of the country, a section of the female population was educated up to the modest requirements of household life. In certain provinces, little girls occasionally attended the indigenous village schools, and learned the same lessons as their brothers. Many women of the upper class had their minds stored with the legends of the Puranas and epic poems, which supply impressive lessons in morality, and in India form the substitute for history. Among the lower orders the keeping of the daily accounts fell, in some households, to the mother or chief female in the family. The arithmetic of the homestead was often conducted by primitive methods, addition and subtraction being performed by means of flowers or any rude counters which came to hand. Among the more actively religious sects and races, girls received an education as a necessary part of their spiritual training. In the Punjab they may still be seen seated in groups around some venerable Sikh priest, learning to read and recite the national scriptures or Granth; and the Brahman tutor of wealthy Hindu families does not confine his instruction to the sons alone.

"In some parts of the country such education as girls obtained was confined ostensibly to reading and arithmetic, writing being an art not held suitable for women of respectable life. The intellectual attainments, wit, and powers of memory of the Indian courtesan class have often been remarked, and formed one of their proverbial attractions. As a matter of fact, there always have been women of great accomplishments and strong talents for business in India. At this moment, one of the best administered Native States has been ruled

during two generations by ladies—the successive Begums of Bhopal; many of the most ably managed of the great landed properties or zamindaris of Bengal are entirely in the hands of females; while, in commercial life, women conduct, through their agents, lucrative and complicated concerns. But the idea of giving girls a school education, as a necessary part of their training for life, did not originate in India until quite within our own days. The intellectual activity of Indian women is very keen, and it seems frequently to last longer in life than the mental energies of the men. The intelligence of Indian women is certainly far in advance of their opportunities of obtaining school-instruction, and promises well for their education in the future” (Report, p. 521).

For full particulars of the state of female education in India in 1881-82, we refer to the table on page 17 (page 27 of the Report). We give only the following further particulars and summary from tables previously given.

Burma, and the native States which manage their own educational institutions, being excluded from the field of inquiry of the Commission, we find the following state of matters :—

Total number of females	...	...	...	97,080,374
Number of females above school age able to read and write	...	...	...	225,783
Number of females under instruction	...	...	...	114,222
“ “ attending secondary schools				2,054

The proportion of girls attending school to the entire female population is, for all India, 1 in 849. In Madras it is 1 in 403; but in Assam it is as low as 1 in 2236, and in Haidarabad 1 in 3630. When we consider that the number under instruction should, according to the European standard, be 1 in 6, or if we say for India, only 1 in 8, we see what remains to be done, and how dark the picture now is. We admit that the ratio of girls at school in India must be lower than in Europe, but as we

have shown in Chapter IV., the allowance for this must not be measured by the European ratio of *school age* to the entire population, owing to the shorter average duration of life in India. There is as large a proportion of children under twelve to the entire population in India, as there is under fifteen in England.

The following shows the number of girls attending the different schools in the different provinces :—

Province.	Total number of Girls at School.	In Departmental Schools.	In Aided Schools.	In Unaided under Inspection.
Madras . . .	35,042	2,169	11,954	6,788
Bombay . . .	26,766	11,311	4,876	4,283
Bengal . . .	41,349	305	16,043	2,200
N.-W. Provinces . .	8,883	3,687	4,954	242
Punjab . . .	9,353	3,857	5,496	—
Central Provinces .	3,225	2,693	514	18
Assam . . .	1,677	—	1,182	77
Haidarabad . . .	438	269	99	—
Total . . .	127,066	24,291	45,096	13,608

To make the above numbers agree, we must add to the total sum 2000 in schools neither aided nor inspected, and those attending *mixed* schools, of whom there are 14,131 in Madras, 4296 in Bombay, and 22,799 in Bengal. (Abridged from p. 530.)

THE COST OF FEMALE EDUCATION is as follows for the whole of India :—

Expended from provincial (Imperial) funds	...	...	£25,287
„ „ local or municipal funds	...	...	10,788
„ „ fees	...	...	4453
„ „ other sources	...	...	44,266
Total expenditure on female education	...	...	<u>£84,794</u>

We do not give the sum for provinces, as we have

not the means of assigning it to the different classes of schools, which is the most interesting and practical question.

There has been a very considerable increase in the number of girls brought under instruction during the last few years, but we cannot tell with accuracy what the amount of the increase is. The comparison between the years 1870 and 1881 is not reliable.

In the examinations we find results not unlike those in the examination of boys. Out of 127,000 on the roll of all schools of all kinds, of whom 84,995 were on the roll of departmental, aided, and inspected schools, 19,802 were examined, 11,652—i.e. 58·84 per cent. of those examined—passed; of these, 2054 were on the roll of secondary schools, of whom 678 were examined, and 282 or 41·59 present passed. Of 515 in normal schools, 128 were examined, and 71 or 55·47 per cent. passed; and in the collegiate department, 6 were on the roll, 5 examined, and 4 passed. Out of 4 young women at college, 2 took the B.A. degree.

Each province is passed in review, and the progress in each is given in detail.

AIDED INSTITUTIONS are found to contain 45,096 pupils, as against 24,491 in departmental schools, 13,603 in unaided but inspected schools, and 2000 in those neither aided nor inspected. Of the aided and unaided schools, nearly all belong to missionary societies, with the exception of a considerable proportion of those in Bengal. Full credit is given throughout this chapter to missionary effort, in originating and supporting these girls' schools,

and for the important part they have taken in the education of adult females in the zanana. It is stated that only of late an effort has been made on a small scale by natives, along with some Europeans, to provide secular without religious teaching in the zananas. The part of the Report which treats of zanana teaching is so important that we give it entire :—

“Zanana Missions.—The most successful efforts yet made to educate Indian women after leaving school, have been conducted by missionaries. In every province of India, ladies have devoted themselves to the work of teaching in the homes of such native families as are willing to receive them. Their instruction is confined to the female members of the household, and, although based on Christian teaching, is extended to secular subjects. The degree in which the two classes of instruction are given varies in different zanana missions; but in almost every case secular teaching forms part of the scheme. Experience seems to have convinced a large proportion of the zealous labourers in this field, that the best preparation for their special or religious work, consists in that quickening of the intellectual nature which is produced by exercising the mind in the ordinary subjects of education. The largest and most successful of the zanana missions are composed of one or more English ladies, with a trained staff of native Christians or Anglo-Indian young women, who teach in the zananas allotted to them. They derive their funds from the missionary societies in Europe and America, supplemented in many cases by local subscriptions in India, and by the private means of the English ladies who conduct the work. The Commission has not complete statistics with regard to the results achieved. But the figures accessible to it, together with the inquiries made by it in the various provinces, show that these results are already considerable, and that they are steadily increasing. The two impediments in the way of their more rapid extension are—first, the natural reluctance of many natives to admit into their families an influence hostile to their own religious beliefs; and, second, the uncertain attitude of the Education Department towards such missions. With the first of these obstacles the Commission cannot deal. But we have observed that much has been accomplished in this respect by the tact,

courtesy, and wise moderation of the ladies engaged in the work. The second impediment comes within our cognisance; and we have provided for it by a specific Recommendation, *that grants for zanana teaching be recognized as a proper charge on public funds, and be given under rules which will enable those engaged in it to obtain substantial aid for such secular teaching as may be tested by an inspectress or other female agency.*

“Secular Zanana Agencies.—But while the Commission cannot deal with the reluctance of orthodox native families to subject their female members to influences hostile to their national faiths, the native community is itself beginning to take action in the matter. In all the presidency towns, and in many of the large cities of India, it is now possible for a wealthy native to obtain instruction for the ladies of his family within his own house. A distinct class of zanana agencies on a secular basis is springing up, conducted by committees of native gentlemen, or by mixed committees of natives and Europeans, with the object, in some cases, of imparting education in zananas without any element of religious teaching; in others, of testing by periodical examinations, and encouraging by rewards, the home education of governesses. These agencies are already doing useful work, although on a comparatively small scale, and the Commission trusts that they will receive a still larger measure of sympathy and co-operation from English ladies in India. Cases have been brought to our notice of a native family of rank employing a European or Anglo-Indian governess; in other cases a native Christian governess is employed, on the understanding that she will confine her instruction to secular subjects” (Report, p. 535).

The difficulty of getting better TEXT-BOOKS for girls' schools, and LITERATURE for educated women, is dwelt upon. FEMALE TEACHERS and INSPECTRESSES are declared to be too few, and to meet this want it is proposed to train widows and the wives of teachers. These and the many questions connected with FEES, PRIZES, SCHOLARSHIPS, &c., are fully discussed from pp. 538—546.

The Commission was of opinion that the GRANTS-

IN-AID to girls' schools were too low, and that they should be increased all round; and Recommendations 3—7, p. 180, were drawn up to that effect. The impression was that a grant equal to one-half the entire expenses of a girls' school would be reasonable, allowing the cost of service in taking them to and from school to be reckoned in the expenses. (Report, p. 542.)

It was also the opinion of the Commission that zanana teaching should be encouraged by grants from the Education Department. (For "Recommendations," see pp. 153, 154, and 181.)

CHAPTER XI.

On Legislation.

THIS chapter is written by Mr. Howell, who was employed by Lord Mayo to make a report on education in 1870, and who knows more about education and its history than any man in India. Hitherto there has been no act of legislation on education by the Indian Government. The Great Charter of Education, as it has been well called, is the Despatch of 1854, supplemented by that of 1859, and acted on by all Governments in India and in England since that time. There have been many acts regarding financial and administrative provisions for education in the different provinces; so far as we can learn, in all the provinces except Bengal. These acts of the Local Government are reviewed, pp. 551—556.

On pp. 557—559 there is a review of the evidence taken by the Commission in each province, of which the general drift is given in these words: "While the evidence collected by the Commission in the various provinces of India proves that, in matters of detail, it will be necessary to adjust general principles to varying local circumstances, yet there is a remarkable concurrence of testimony on the main issue as to the expediency of legislation for

the purposes of finance and administration." The subject is so important that we give the results of Mr. Howell's consideration of it, as approved by the Commission, and recorded on pp. 559, 560 of the Report.

"Conclusions from this Review.—Thus in most provinces some attempt at educational legislation, more or less desultory, has been made. In Bengal alone has legislation been excluded from rural districts and restricted to municipalities. We are of opinion that if any class of education is to be treated at all by legislation, it should be treated thoroughly; that it is not sufficient to constitute agencies with merely discretionary powers, or dealing with funds, the appropriation of which to educational purposes is beyond their control; that all these scattered provisions, including such suggestions of the witnesses as are approved by the Local Governments concerned, should be brought into one connected and complete system for each province, not only in view of securing the strict application of funds to the purposes for which they are levied, but as an authoritative declaration of policy as to which there is at present much uncertainty and consequent want of steady and uniform progress. Care must be taken that advantages intended for the poorer and labouring classes, be not monopolized by the higher classes. Local bodies should not be allowed to aid higher schools at the expense of funds raised for, or assigned to primary schools; they should be required to levy adequate fees in all schools under their control; they should not be allowed to stint primary schools in such a way as to tend to inefficiency. Above all, they should give fair play to private enterprise, and impartially administer, according to the grant-in-aid rules, the funds entrusted to them. Adequate provision should be made for all castes and classes of the community, in proportion to the funds available.

"We think that any law which deals with the levy of funds, should also deal more precisely than at present with their appropriation; that it should no longer be possible for Government policy to vary with successive incumbents of high office; that there should be a recognized check to any appropriation to one purpose of funds primarily raised for another; in short, that there should be some firmer, more uniform, and better understood basis of educational policy than at present exists. One point demands special notice.

From our review of the existing law, it appears that in Bombay, a minimum share of local fund income is guaranteed by statutory rule for primary education, which share, with the provincial assignment to the same purpose, is safe from appropriation to other objects, and if unspent at the end of the year, does not lapse either to the general local fund or to provincial balances. On the other hand, in Northern India there is no such guarantee against appropriation to other objects, or in the case of unspent balances, against lapse to provincial revenues. Hence in Bombay, primary education has a fund of its own, a distinct revenue, and clear financial rights; while in Northern India, both the allotment in the first instance, and the unspent balance, are dependent on the local administration for the time being. We are of opinion that the Bombay system in this respect should be uniformly adopted. Such uniformity, and the other provisions mentioned above, can only be secured by legislation. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that at present our educational administration is conducted on a dual system of management by the Department and by local committees; and though we look forward to the gradual supersession of departmental schools, at first in the lower grades by aided or board schools, and afterwards in the higher grades by aided schools, we are aware that this process must be gradual, and that in the interval some impartial and secure basis of common action, such as legislation alone will provide, should be afforded."

The following is so important that we must quote it at length. It would be of value as an expression of the opinion of a man of Mr. Howell's experience; as confirmed by a vote of 14 to 3 in a meeting of the Commission, it is of the greatest weight:—

"**Basis of the Recommendations of the Commission.**—The first question connected with legislation that came before the Commission was whether any further and more specific enactment was expedient. This was decided in the affirmative at a very early stage of our proceedings, and was affirmed in the Recommendation already stated in Chapter IV. to this effect: *that an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.* The grounds of this decision were briefly as follows:—

"(1) Hitherto the State has mainly relied for the extension of education upon departmental effort or upon voluntary effort. But the former is obviously limited by financial considerations; and is therefore inadequate to the need, while it moreover tends to discourage local effort and self-reliance. The latter is necessarily partial and uncertain, and is least likely to be forthcoming where it is most wanted. What is now required seems to be some measure that will not only meet present necessities in each province, but be capable of expansion with future necessities. It is not thereby intended that any one large measure should regulate the details of education throughout all India. On the contrary, the Recommendation cited is carefully guarded in its reference to the circumstances of each province. But in only three provinces is there any local legislative council, and hence for each of the other provinces some one or more acts will be required from the supreme Government.

"In the case of all provinces alike it is right that the central authority, being most conversant with principles, should supply principles; while the local authorities should embody those principles in acts suited to the circumstances of each province. A declaration of general principles by the Supreme Council will be no bar to the exercise of free scope and discretion by local authorities in matters of detail; still less will one province be bound by provisions primarily designed for another. In this way it is hoped that in course of time, by a process of gradual expansion on well-considered lines, each province may be furnished with sufficient and efficient primary schools.

"On the equally important question whether executive orders would not ensure the desired end without legislation, it was argued that the history and statistics given in our Report show that executive orders of clear import and general application, issued from 1854 to the present time, have failed more or less in all provinces to ensure uniform attention to broad principles prescribed for general guidance. If such general or partial failure occurred during sixteen years of purely centralized control from 1854 to 1870, and during twelve years from 1870 to the present day of modified and relaxed control, still greater failure and want of consistent progress may be expected as further decentralization advances, especially if primary education be made one of the objects to which local self-government is to be directed.

"Moreover, as has been shown above, although outside opinions are divided as to the scope and direction of legis-

lation, there is a general consensus, among those witnesses who have touched on the subject at all, that some more final and authoritative policy than the present is urgently needed.

(2) In all countries where education has been most successful, that is, most national, it has been based on law or ordinance which has laid down the broad outlines of a general policy. Even in England, where there is so much jealousy of any central action that can be avoided, it was never advanced in the prolonged discussions which resulted in the acts passed between 1870 and 1880, that if a national and adequate system of primary education was at last to be established, it could be established otherwise than by legislation. (3) Legislation is the only way in which all or any of the Recommendations of the Commission, after approval by Government, can be made to live and last."

While there was unanimity in the Commission as to the necessity for legislation of some kind, there was a very pronounced difference of opinion as to its objects and limits. The chief difficulty lay in the question, Shall legislation be limited to primary education, or shall it have a reference to all the branches of instruction? Here the bureaucratic spirit asserted itself, and, by a small majority at a small meeting near the end of the sittings of the Commission, succeeded in getting a Recommendation passed in favour of legislation for the higher education as well as the lower. Mr. Howell gives the argument on both sides, which we do not think it necessary to reproduce.

It will be observed that the first nine Recommendations deal with board schools only, which are mainly primary, and express the views of those members of the Commission who wished legislation exclusively directed to the promotion of elementary instruction. Recommendation 10 expresses the views of the old departmental men, who wished to

foster the higher education, as the minority thought, at the expense of the lower.

It is so far well that the unanimity was so marked, both on the part of witnesses and Commissioners, in favour of some decisive legislative action by Government. It is clear to all parties, from our experience of the past, and from the nature of the case, that without legislation the inquiry will be a failure, and the Commission a waste of time and money. (See "Analysis and Recommendations," p. 182.)

CHAPTER XII.

Financial Summary.

FINANCIAL questions have frequently come before us in connection with the various subjects of the preceding chapters; but it is interesting and of importance to have a clear and corrected view of the different *sources of income* for educational objects, and the *way in which it is distributed*. Where errors are slight and do not affect an argument, we adhere to the figures as they stand in the tables.

The following are the various sources and the amount of income for education for the nine provinces of India :—

1. Public funds (calculating the rupee at 2s.).				
(a) Provincial revenues...	...	...	£606,413	
(b) Cess or local rates ...	...	...	264,829	
(c) Municipal grants ...	...	...	41,144	
Total public funds for education ...	...	...		£913,388
2. Private funds.				
(a) Fees from pupils ...	...	...	£378,600	
(b) Other sources ...	...	...	270,751	
(c) Bombay Native States ...	...	...	49,287	
Total private funds ...	...	...		£698,638
Grand total ...	...	...	...	<u>£1,611,026</u>

To this—for the whole of India—we would require to add the expenditure on the education of

Europeans and Eurasians, and that on technical and professional colleges, the former being £88,622, and the latter £122,866; and it must be remembered that throughout the whole inquiry, Burma and the native States which manage their own education are excluded from these calculations (Report, pp. 568—570).

PROVINCIAL FUNDS originated in an arrangement made under Lord Mayo's Government in 1870, as a part of his system of decentralization, by which he wisely threw on each province a share of responsibility for the expenditure on certain departments of administration formerly paid directly from Imperial revenue—such as roads and bridges, sanitation and medical relief, registration, education, &c. A certain fixed sum is returned, by a budget arrangement, to each province from the Imperial revenue, to be supplemented by local or cess rates, and municipal grants, thereby giving Local Governments an interest in the economical expenditure of funds, which become, what they are called, *Provincial Revenue*; and forms more than two-thirds of the entire sum on which they must support some seven or eight departments of their administrations, of which education is one. It is this system, which has worked so well during these ten years, and was meant to be experimental and progressive, which Lord Ripon is now carrying forward on the same lines of local self-government.

The supplementary sources of revenue, under the heads of "Local Rates" and "Cess," as derived from general or rural sources, and Municipal, as derived from other sources, sufficiently explain them-

selves, so far as the principles go; but as to the many and varied ways in which these funds are raised, it would take a volume to explain them all.

The sources of revenue which we have called private, by way of distinction from those which are officially called public, need little explanation. Of these, fees are necessarily, in a poor country like India, very low, and yet they form 23·50 per cent., or nearly one-fourth part of the entire expenditure on education. Of the $23\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. raised from fees, so much as 13 per cent., or more than half of the sum, is derived from *aided* institutions, and only 6·9 per cent. from departmental institutions.

The income from "*other sources*," amounting to more than a quarter of a million, or 16·81 per cent. of the whole expenditure, is derived from subscriptions, donations, endowments, and the sums sent from this country, the Continent, and America, for the support of aided institutions. The Report says: "If private enterprise be more systematically and liberally aided, we may expect that these private sources will largely increase."

THE COMPARATIVE INCIDENCE OF EXPENDITURE in the different provinces is given in the table on p. 112.

The contrast between the different provinces is too marked to need any notice, but it is well worth careful study. The difference between some of them implies mismanagement somewhere, and great need for reform.

"THE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE FROM PUBLIC FUNDS upon each class of education, and in each province, in 1881-82," is given with great minute-

Table showing the Proportion of Educational Expenditure in 1881-82 borne by each Source of Revenue.

Province.	Percentage borne by Provincial Revenues.	Percentage borne by Local Rates.	Percentage borne by Municipal Grants.	Total percentage borne by Public Funds.	Percentage borne by Native State Revenues.	Percentage borne by Fees.	Percentage borne by other sources.	Total Expenditure.
Madras	25.9	18.2	2.5	46.6	—	31.6	21.8	£ 299,470
Bombay	31.5	25.9	2.73	60.13	16.73	15.12	8.02	294,674
Bengal	40.71	18	.44	41.3	—	37.42	21.25	555,929
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	46.32	32.2	2.69	81.21	—	4.65	14.14	185,557
Punjab	34.77	31.15	10.01	75.93	—	7.54	16.53	144,257
Central Provinces	55.18	20.8	5.25	81.23	—	5.23	13.54	63,584
Assam	45.55	18.73	.12	64.40	—	19.11	16.49	30,154
Coorg	58.19	31.06	—	89.25	—	9.78	.97	2,273
Haidarabad Assigned Districts	66.78	24.90	.39	92.07	—	7.65	.28	35,129
INDIA (Nine Provinces) .	37.64	16.43	2.56	56.63	3.06	23.50	16.81	£1,611,028

ness on page 576. We give the principal features for the whole of India, or rather, nine provinces dealt with.

1. ON COLLEGIATE EDUCATION the sum of £73,697 is expended, or 8·08 per cent. of the whole of the public funds devoted to education; of this sum, almost the whole is derived from the provincial (or imperial) funds, of which it amounts to 12·00 per cent. Nothing is taken from local funds for this object, and only £937 comes from municipal funds, or 2·28 per cent.

2. SECONDARY EDUCATION receives £165,660 of public funds for educational purposes, of which £148,279 is from provincial revenues, £6987 from local rates, and £10,393 from municipal funds.

3. PRIMARY EDUCATION receives from public funds for education £362,400, or 39·72 per cent., but from provincial revenues receives only £138,985, or 22·92 per cent. of the sum set apart for education; from local rates £198,664, of which it forms 75·02 per cent., and from municipal funds £24,750, of which fund it is 60·16 per cent.

4. PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION receives £37,577, or 4·11 per cent.; £28,904 being from provincial revenues, £8174 from local funds, and £499 from municipal funds.

5. ON DIRECTION, INSPECTION, UNIVERSITIES, AND MISCELLANEOUS there is expended £273,053, or 29·92 per cent., from public funds; of which £217,484 comes from provincial revenues; £51,004, or 19·26 per cent., from local funds; and £4564 from municipal funds (p. 576).

For the purpose of verification of percentages,

we repeat the total of public funds ; viz. provincial (or imperial) revenues, £606,413 ; local revenue, £264,829 ; and municipal funds, £41,144.

THE PORTION OF IMPERIAL REVENUE returned to all the provincial Governments, except Burma, to be expended as PROVINCIAL REVENUE, was in 1883,—a year later than the other tables,—£14,993,500 ; of which Madras received £2,271,200 ; Bombay, £3,337,100 ; Bengal, £4,037,300 ; North-Western Provinces, £2,827,400 ; the Punjab, £1,376,700 ; and the Central Provinces, £730,800. Of these sums, the proportion expended on education was, on an average of the nine provinces, only 4·34 per cent. ; varying from 3·3 per cent. in Bombay, to 6·5 per cent. in Bengal : so that of the £14,993,500 intended for the expenses of the seven or eight decentralized departments, only about £672,736 was spent on education ; in 1881-82 it was, as we have seen, £606,413.

THE LOCAL REVENUES for the nine provinces of India amounted to £2,958,646 ; of which about a quarter of a million was spent on education, or 15·63 per cent.

THE MUNICIPAL REVENUES of the nine provinces of India, inquired into by the Commission in 1881-82, was £2,070,118 ; of which £41,144, or 2·22 per cent., was expended on education.

There are apparent discrepancies in the accounts, which are partly explained in the Report, but as they are not such as to affect any practical issue, we do not waste time in attempting an explanation.

From these tables we combine the following, to show the proportion which each province devotes to

educational objects from the different public funds, of which we gave the total amounts on a preceding page:—

PERCENTAGE OF EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

Province.	To Provincial Revenues.	To Local Fund Revenues.	To Municipal Revenues.
Madras	4·30	6·20	3·80
Bombay	3·40	18·60	1·20
Bengal	6·50	—	·48
North-West Provinces .	3·30	7·20	2·04
Punjab	4·60	20·90	5·60
Central Provinces . .	4·90	22·40	3·00
Assam	3·40	15·20	·40
Average. . . .	3·34	15·10	2·36

One of the great difficulties in the way of anything like a national education of the people, is the great poverty of the masses of the population. Taking the whole population, rich and poor together, the highest authorities place the average income per head at about 54s. per annum. Even the Turks are said to have an average annual income of £4 per head. In Portugal, the average is £8; while in France it is £23, and in Great Britain £33, a head per annum. The contrast is astounding—660s. to 54s. The income of one Englishman is equal to that of twelve of the natives of India.

A table at the end of this able paper, which with two others is from the pen of Mr. Lee-Warner, shows the great need of education. Taking the number of children of school age at the very low estimate of 15 per cent., or 1 in 7 of the population, as assumed in Chapter II., it is seen that the *average number actually at school in all India* IS ONLY 16·28

PER CENT. OF THE BOYS OF SCHOOL AGE, AND '84, OR MUCH LESS THAN 1 IN 100, OF THE GIRLS OF SCHOOL AGE.

We close with the earnest words of the writer of this part of the Report, which comes with the added weight of the approval of the Commission.

"Summary: Insufficiency of Contributions from Public Funds.—It seems inevitable that our Recommendations must lead to increased expenditure in two directions. In Chapter VIII. we have recommended that 'a periodically increasing provision be made in the educational budget of each province for the expansion of aided institutions.' We have there discussed the danger to private enterprise of arbitrary restrictions of grants, and the necessity for revising the grant-in-aid rules in the various provinces; a revision from which we expect an increasing outlay upon schools and colleges under private management. In paragraph 667 we have seen that from the provision of public funds in 1881-82 for the classes of education with which our Report deals, institutions under private management received 20·14 per cent., and departmental institutions received 49·94 per cent. We have also seen (paragraph 665) that the former class of institutions contribute in the form of fees nearly 13 per cent., and the latter barely 7 per cent. of the whole educational outlay in India. If the principle that assistance from public funds should bear some proportion to local contributions is to be fairly carried out, it is obvious that greater liberality must be shown in future in dealing with the claims of private enterprise" (Report, p. 583).

"The most advanced province of India still fails to reach 75 per cent. of its male children of the school-going age; 98 per cent. of its female children of that age; while in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 92 boys in every 100 are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress. The census returns are equally conclusive in showing the magnitude of the work that remains before education in India can be

placed upon a national basis. Taking the male population of Ajmir and of the nine provinces with which our Report deals, which exceeds 103 millions, about $94\frac{3}{4}$ millions are wholly illiterate; while of the female population, numbering about 99,700,000, no less than $99\frac{1}{2}$ millions are returned as unable to read or write" (Report, p. 584).

DISSENTS AND MINUTES.

THE Report is to all intents and purposes unanimous. That the twenty-one members of such a Commission should have agreed with practical unanimity in passing 220 Recommendations, is as remarkable as it is satisfactory. They were all men of independent position and character, chosen by nine separate and independent Governments, and all felt deeply interested in the subject; some from official connection with the Department, others from voluntary efforts in benevolent educational enterprises, and some from both. It was not the unanimity of indifference, nor of a homogeneous body. There were great diversities of opinion, and much keen feeling on the subject of inquiry.

Much of the unanimity was, we doubt not, the result of the judicious rules laid down to regulate debates, under able and skilful leadership, and still more from the patience with which the subject was "thrashed out" in Sub-Committees, and in general discussion. With such men and such a subject, unanimity implies a good deal of compromise. But so far as we can judge, there was a general disposition to yield to the evidence of the 193 witnesses who appeared before the Commission, and in the 323 memorials sent for their consideration. That

there was a compromise can neither be doubted nor regretted; it is not a subject on which any reasonable man would wish the victory of extreme opinions, which would have left a rankling feeling in a reasonable minority, or might have led to a reaction from external pressure. So long as a compromise rests on reason, conscience, and evidence, it ought to be accepted as satisfactory.

There are only three dissents, two minutes, and a note by the President.

Of the dissents, as two are very mild, and are not sustained by facts or high authority, we may leave them without further notice.

The third is by Mr. Arthur Howell, and is of much weight, in virtue of the subjects of dissent, the reasons by which it is sustained, and the character and position of the dissentient.

Mr. Howell dissents on three points. (1) From the third Recommendation, on the subject of primary education, which he considers too weak. He says, "I hold that all Government expenditure on education should be *mainly devoted* to elementary education of the masses of the people." In this opinion a large and influential minority of the ablest men on the Commission entirely concurred, though they did not enter their dissent.

(2) He dissents from Recommendation 32, under Chapter VIII. (see the text at close of Abstract, page 176), on the ground that "It finds no warrant in the Despatch of 1854, and indeed goes beyond its spirit and plain intention," and refers to his arguments in the discussion, as recorded in the minutes of the Commission.

While Mr. Howell is strongly in favour of maintaining a sufficient number of colleges in thorough efficiency, and would require good guarantees before handing them over to local bodies, as recommended in the Despatch, he strenuously advocates their being transferred to native management,—

- (a) *“As an important stimulus to local effort and self-reliance.*
- (b) *“As essential to the development of a sound system of grants-in-aid.*
- (c) *“As conducive to the advancement of the social, moral, and political education of the people.”*

(3) He dissents from “The view which underlies all the Commission’s Recommendations about legislation in Chapter XI.” He shows that the failure of our educational efforts hitherto has arisen, not from any imperfection in the principles and rules laid down in the Despatches of 1854 and 1859, but from the defects of administration, and that from the want of legislation by the central Government. From his extensive knowledge of the working of the system, which he spent years in studying under Lord Mayo’s Government, no man is better entitled to say, as Mr. Howell has done, “I hold that such a measure (of legislation) is not only possible, but is shown by the repeated failure of executive orders to be desirable. I hold that a measure limited to principles, might be framed so as to be capable of ready adaption, by the Local Government concerned, to the circumstances of each province. But I would, for the present, limit such a measure to primary education.”

Minutes.

There is a long "minute," covering fourteen folio pages, by KASHINATH TRIMBACK TELANG, Esq., which I regret that time prevents me from condensing in a form that would do justice to the argument, and space forbids my inserting it as a whole. It has more the character of an essay than of an official minute, but it is evidently the production of an able, thoughtful, and earnest man. I regret the more that it is impossible to do it justice, as much of it is devoted to an attempt to controvert arguments of my own, especially on the subject of moral teaching. Mr. Telang uses the following rather strong terms of our early work: "One gentleman, who has been particularly active in what I cannot help characterizing as the misguided and mischievous agitation which preceded the appointment of the Commission, has held up to the gaze of the British public a picture of the effects of the State education in India (see Mr. Johnston's 'Our Educational Policy in India,' pages xv, 8, 10, 26), which, if it is a faithful one, would certainly justify some new departure in the direction indicated." Mr. Telang, by an elaborate argument to which I will not do injustice by abridgment, tries to refute our charges, which were not ours, but quoted from the statements of others. He admits that *five gentlemen* bore witness to the accuracy of our statements in their evidence before the Commission, and spoke of "the result of Government so-called neutrality, as being by *common consent* decidedly injurious from a moral and religious point of view." This, of course,

Mr. Telang denies. But to say nothing of the five witnesses he refers to, I could name ten times that number; and he cannot deny that the Commission, as a body, has practically admitted the truth of my charges, by the new departure which he protests against, in regard to moral teaching, and moral and religious text-books, against which he records this minute.

We think Mr. Telang might have spoken more temperately of our pamphlet, in consideration of the good resulting from this Commission, which, he observes, it preceded, and for which we suppose he will allow it was mainly instrumental in showing the need.

.. We feel justified in not attempting an analysis of this minute, first, because Mr. Telang says in the opening sentences, "I concur in so many of the Recommendations contained in this Report, that I have no hesitation in signing it;" and after adding, "I am bound to put separately on record the opinions I have formed on some points with which it deals. I am, however, glad to be able to say at the outset, after a careful consideration of the work done by my colleagues who drew up this Report at Simla, that the very arduous duty devolved upon them has been discharged by them in a manner, on the whole, extremely fair and satisfactory."

Secondly, it seems to me that in recording his personal opinions in an elaborate and able argument, it would only have been fair that the personal opinions of other members of the Commission, quite as worthy of record, should have been placed alongside of this minute, as they are recorded in the

minutes of the Commission, and in the important paper read before the Commission by Mr. Arthur Howell.

The *minute* by the Hon. D. M. BARBOUR, Secretary for the Government of India in the Financial Department, we would gladly give *in extenso*, did our space admit. It is meant to guard the Department, which he specially represented, from being unduly burdened with expenses, especially such as can be, and ought to be borne by others. It is an admirable paper, and will, we doubt not, command the attention of Government. We cannot condense it, but give a few extracts :—

“1. The Report of the Education Commission is, necessarily, based on the recommendations of the majority of the members of the Commission.

“In any case in which a minority may have dissented, the fact of the dissent is, as a rule, recorded in the proceedings; but as the pressure of my ordinary duties prevented me from attending the meetings of the Commission, it has come about that there are Recommendations of the Commission to which I am opposed, and in regard to which my dissent is not anywhere recorded.

“I have, therefore, thought it best to note briefly the chief Recommendations to which I am opposed; in the circumstances I have not thought it necessary to state the grounds of my opposition at any length.

“2. In Chapter V., which deals with SECONDARY EDUCATION, the Commission recommends ‘that in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions,—one leading to the entrance examination of the universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.’

“In this Recommendation I most cordially concur; but the Commission goes on to recommend that a certificate of having passed in ‘either of the proposed alternative courses be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service,’ and to this Recommendation I am strongly opposed. In my opinion, the general test of fitness for the public service should be a certificate of having passed by the final

standard of the course which is of the more practical character; 'intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.'

"My experience as head of a large office in Bengal has led me to the conclusion that the adoption of the university entrance examination as a general standard of education, has had disastrous effects in the case of youths not fitted to rise to a higher position than that of subordinate clerks.

"3. In Chapter VI., which deals with COLLEGIATE EDUCATION, the Commission recommends a more favourable scale of pensions for officers in the Education Department.

"This Recommendation is made solely with reference to the supposed needs of the Department. It takes no account of the additional expenditure which it involves, or of the fact that the adoption of the proposal would furnish a strong argument for the sanction of additional expenditure in other departments of the Government service.

"The Recommendation appears to me to be founded on an inadequate appreciation of the whole of the facts, and to be somewhat out of place in the present Report.

"4. I object to Recommendation (1) in Chapter VII.; 'that when an educational officer enters the higher graded service of the Education Department, his promotion should not involve any loss of pay.'

"I object to this Recommendation because it deals with a question of administrative detail not within the scope of the Commission's inquiry, and because a temporary loss of pay may be much more than counterbalanced by an improvement in future prospects of promotion.

"I also object to Recommendation (5) in the same chapter, 'that it be an instruction to the departments of the various provinces to aim at raising fees gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions, up to the highest amount that will not check the spread of education, especially in colleges, secondary schools, and primary schools in towns where the value of education is understood.' I am of opinion that this Recommendation does not go far enough in the case of colleges. Private expenditure incurred in giving a boy a really good education is a remunerative investment of capital in India, and I am unaware of any good ground for taxing the general community in order to confer wealth and power on a class which is itself almost wholly untaxed.

"5. In Chapter VIII., the Commission recommends 'that the bestowal of patronage in Government appointments be

so regulated as to offer greater encouragement to high education.' I cannot say that a Recommendation of this sort may not be necessary in some provinces, or as regards certain departments; but I desire to state as the result of my experience, which is necessarily limited, that high education is already sufficiently encouraged by the bestowal of appointments in the service of Government.

"I believe that the best man for an office under Government will often be the man who has received a good education; but the rule is subject to many exceptions, and, after all, the man who has the best claim to an office is not the man who has had the best or most elaborate education, but the man who will best discharge the duties of the office.

"6. I have no objection to the Recommendation made in Chapter IX. of the Report, 'that Local Governments be invited to consider the question of establishing special colleges or schools for the sons and relations of native chiefs and noblemen, where such institutions do not now exist,' provided that these institutions are made wholly self-supporting; but I dissent from the Recommendation 'that the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on local, on municipal, and on provincial funds.' I do not think it is possible to justify the taxation of the general community for the special benefit of one class.

"Although I have felt bound to make these remarks, I may add that it would, in my judgment, be an unmixed gain if the Muhammadans came forward and qualified themselves to take a larger and more important share in the administration of the country; but the improvement must, and I believe will, come from their own efforts. No attempt to improve their position by protecting them against the competition of other classes can have any permanently beneficial effect."

The last *minute*, or rather *note*, is by the PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION, the Hon. W. W. HUNTER. It deals with only two subjects. First, it points out that the Commission had not done full justice to a report on indigenous schools in the Punjab, which Dr. Leitner had got up, and the accuracy of which members of the Commission had called in question.

It appeared that Colonel Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, had asserted that there were in that province only 4662 indigenous schools, while Dr. Leitner maintained that there were considerably more than 6000 schools, with 120,000 pupils. It turns out, from investigations made by Sir C. M. Aitcheson, that there are 13,109 schools, attended by 135,384 pupils. These last figures are now accepted by Colonel Holroyd, and as the Commission had not only questioned the accuracy, but censured the spirit of Dr. Leitner's report, it was but fair that the President should call attention to these figures, and he adds :—

“They show that Dr. Leitner's largest estimate of 120,000 pupils, so far from being exaggerated, was below the truth. How far this circumstance might have modified the views of the Commission as to the general tone of Dr. Leitner's report, it is not for me, in the absence of my colleagues, to offer any conjecture.”

We close our abstract and analysis with the following paragraph, in which Dr. Hunter emphasizes the opinions of Mr. Howell on legislation :—

“Before concluding this note, I desire to express my concurrence with Mr. Howell in the separate opinion which he has recorded, so far as regards the expediency of having a general Education Act for India. At page 561 the Commission stated ‘that the central authority, being most conversant with principles, should supply principles; while the Local Governments should embody those principles in Acts suited to the circumstances of each province. . . . It is not thereby intended that any one large measure should regulate the details of education throughout all India.’ The method which the Supreme Government may adopt for declaring the general principles, whether by legislative enactment or by executive orders, seems to me to be a question which must be left to the Supreme Government itself. But as an

anxiety to avoid over-centralization underlies many of our Recommendations, I beg to express my concurrence with Mr. Howell that a short Act by the Supreme Government, declaring the general principles, 'is not only possible, but is shown by the repeated failure of executive orders, to be desirable.'"

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THE
RECOMMENDATIONS
OF
THE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION
IN INDIA.

WITH
ANALYSIS AND NOTES

BY THE
REV. J. JOHNSTON, F.S.S.

HON. SECRETARY, GENERAL COUNCIL ON EDUCATION IN INDIA.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following Analysis is not meant to supersede the careful study of the "Recommendations" by those who have leisure, or who require to apply them to institutions in which they are interested. It is hoped that it will be of use to those who are not familiar with the details of Indian Education, and to the many whose time is too limited to admit of the protracted study which is needful to right understanding of its different sections in their mutual relations, and which the importance of the subject claims.

The sections into which the subject was divided for the more thorough investigation and careful preparation in sub-committees, prior to final consideration by the Commission, has led to repetitions and cross divisions, which in the circumstances were unavoidable.

The following are the headings of the different Sections, and the order in which they stand.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

- I. On Indigenous Education.
- II. On Primary Education.
- III. On Secondary Education.
- IV. On Collegiate Education.
- V. On the Internal Administration of the Education Department.
- VI. On the External Relations of the Department.
- VII. Regarding Classes requiring Special Treatment.
 - (a) The Sons of Native Chiefs and Noblemen.
 - (b) Muhammadans.
 - (c) Aboriginal Tribes.
 - (d) Low Castes.
- VIII. On Female Education.
- IX. On Legislation.

ANALYSIS

OF

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE following Recommendations are the result of the labours of the large "Education Commission," which has been engaged in most extensive inquiries and earnest consultations for nearly two years. They are highly creditable to the ability and zeal of its members, many of whom have at much personal sacrifice devoted a large portion of their time and attention to this important work.

With two or three exceptions, to which we shall call attention, they are on the lines of the Despatch of 1854, and on the whole most satisfactory. It is true that they bear the mark of the departmental character of the "Commission"¹—a character which, from the nature of the inquiry, was unavoidable in its composition, and did not interfere with the honesty and thoroughness of its investigations; but

¹ When we speak of the departmental character of the Commission, we do not refer exclusively or even chiefly to those of its English members who are connected with the Education Department as Directors, or Inspectors of Schools. Some of these were the freest from departmental influence, and the most generous and earnest advocates for a change of policy. We include those Government officials who had directly or indirectly been parties to the past working of the system, and even those native gentlemen who owed their position to their being trained for office in Government colleges, and who, from interest and gratitude to their *alma mater*, were in many cases the most prejudiced departmentalists. In saying this we do not reflect on them, far less on the composition of the Commission. If it had been differently constituted it would have aroused opposition and led to no good result.

which, from the inevitable infirmity of human nature, could not fail to colour to some extent the inferences drawn from the evidence before it, and the conclusions arrived at. It is highly creditable to its members that they have gone so far in recommending an administration of the Education Department so materially different from that which has so long been in force, and which, if now faithfully carried out, will remove nearly all the evils of which the "Council on Education" complained at the beginning of its movement, and will form a new departure in education in India; especially in that department which has always been the chief subject of our solicitude—the education of the masses of the people. For this we are bound to express our obligation to the Commission for its important services, and our sincere gratitude to Lord Ripon and his Council for appointing it. We shall abstain from general observations, and still more from indefinite objections. We thankfully accept the Recommendations as a whole, and shall point out in detail those points in which we consider them unsatisfactory or insufficient.

The following analysis will bring out the good as well as the weak points of the Recommendations. But it must be distinctly understood that everything will depend on the way in which these Recommendations are carried out by the different Provincial Governments of India. It would be possible to reduce them to practice, even as they are, in a way that would accomplish the greatest good, while in the hands of a Government adverse to the principles of the Despatch of 1854, they could be so administered as to perpetuate, and even to intensify the evils which have prevailed in the past. The all-important work which now remains to be accomplished, is to get the vast possibilities of good in the Recommendations accepted and put in force by the Provincial Governments of India; and until the good words of the Commission are transmuted into good works in the administration, nothing has been done, though so much has been said.

As we subjoin the whole of the Recommendations in their order, without note or comment, we shall not now take them up consecutively, but shall deal with them in their relation to the great objects for the attainment of which the Council on

Education was formed, and as they are fitted to remove the evils in the administration of the Despatch of 1854 of which we complained. These are, as expressed in our basis of union :—

“(a) The much greater extension of elementary education amongst the poorer classes, which was the grand design of the Despatch, as expressed in a “Return” laid before Parliament in 1870—‘The main object of the Despatch of 1854 is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom, up to that date, they had been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction among the masses.’ Also paragraphs 6, 10, and 39 of the Despatch.

“(b) The encouragement and control (rather than the direct management) of the higher education by Government, through the Universities, and by the system of grants-in-aid to affiliated colleges, as provided for in paragraphs 24, 25, 28, and 40 of the Despatch.

“(c) The gradual withdrawal by Government from *direct* teaching in colleges and high schools wherever the desire for the higher education is so far developed as to give a reasonable guarantee that it will be maintained with the assistance of grants-in-aid, and the independent efforts of the natives, and others interested in their welfare, as laid down in paragraphs 52, 61, 62, and 86.”

First. The extension of primary instruction. We have no hesitation in expressing our entire approval of the Recommendations on this vital subject. The views of the Commission are comprehensive, generous, and, so far as we can judge, fitted to accomplish the great ends of a national system of education. The task is herculean, and it will be long before the vast field can be properly cultivated; but the conception is imperial, and the plans seem well laid out for ultimate success.

There is in these Recommendations a generous tone of sympathy for the poorest and weakest classes of the community, and a considerate provision for their wants. The aboriginal tribes, so long trodden under the feet of the

conquering Aryan races by each succeeding invasion from the north and western Asia, are to receive special attention and liberal aid.¹ The lowest castes of Hindus are to be protected from the prejudices of high-caste countrymen,² and the poorer they are the more liberal the treatment.³ The oppressed and neglected female is to receive special attention,⁴ and grants-in-aid for girls' schools are to be on easier conditions and more liberal terms than those of boys.⁵ And "zenana teaching" is to be encouraged by grants.⁶

But while the poor and the weak are thus generously cared for, there is a judicious concession to the infirmity of Hindu scruples and Muhammadan exclusiveness, in so far as these can be tolerated without injury to others. While the rights of the lowest outcasts are respected and guarded, the Brahman and the Muhammadan may have the privilege of teaching the Shastras and Koran, and receive aid even for schools held in temples and mosques, provided they add secular to religious teaching.⁷ Even the rich and the noble families have hitherto stood aloof from our schools, to the great injury of our administration in India, in which offices of trust and power have thus been almost exclusively secured by men of very inferior social position. These old families with the traditions and ancestral habits of government, who were trusted and employed in the days of Clive and Hastings and Wellesley, have remained outside of Western culture, and have thus been excluded from official life, which can only be entered by the narrow gate of competitive examination. Means are now to be used for bringing these classes within the pale of modern culture, and their restoration to that position in the State to which they are entitled, and for which they are specially qualified.⁸

Let us now see how the system of primary education is to be extended, so as to assume really national proportions.

Note.—The references are to the Recommendations following. The Roman numerals refer to the *Sections* under which they are classified from I.—IX.; the Arabic numerals to the number of the Recommendations under each class.

¹ vii. (c), 1—6, ii. 24.

² i. 9, vii. (d), 1, 2, vi. 12.

³ ii. 18, 25, 27.

⁴ viii. 1—27.

⁵ vi. 12 (b), 13 (c), 20.

⁶ viii. 23, 24.

⁷ i. 2, 3, vii. (b), 2.

⁸ vii. (a), 1, 2.

1st. It is proposed to establish a system of Municipal and Local school boards over the whole country,¹ which will be worked on the lines recently laid down for the extension of Local self-government. It is expected that in many cases the school board will be a sub-committee of the local boards for general purposes. As neither the qualifications of members and electors, nor the mode of election or appointment, are given in the Recommendations of the Commission, we are thrown back on the Resolutions of the Indian Government in regard to local administration, of which we shall by-and-by give an outline.²

2nd. The principle of the Education Despatch of 1854, in which primary education is declared to be the first and most important concern of the State, is reaffirmed and strengthened by repeated declarations to the same effect, under different heads.³ To give one out of many examples, while asserting that the higher education is to be encouraged and controlled by the Government,—“that it is to be distinctly laid down, that the relation of the State to secondary, is entirely distinct from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education, only when adequate local co-operation is forthcoming.”

3rd. The funds for the support and extension of primary education are to be provided from the following sources:—

- (a) Municipal and local revenues;
- (b) Provincial funds supplied from Imperial revenues allocated for provincial uses;
- (c) Fees levied in board schools;
- (d) Certain assignments and contributions from local and municipal funds.⁴

4th. To prevent education from being starved by a poor or parsimonious board, it is expressly declared that the sum to be raised and expended on education is to be fixed for each district, not by the board, but by the Provincial Government,

¹ ix. 1, 2.

² ii. 30, 31.

³ See page 151.

⁴ ix. 4, 5, 8.

⁵ ii. 3, 28, iii. 23.

and it is recommended that the Imperial Government allocate a larger and gradually increasing portion of its revenue for educational purposes.

5th. It is also recommended that the Government not only fix the sum to be devoted to education generally, but also the proportion in which it is to be applied to primary and secondary instruction in both board and aided schools.¹

To any one who knows India, it will be obvious that to hand over education to any local boards without restriction and supervision would not be conducive to primary education; and if Provincial Governments do not take such oversight as is indicated in the Recommendations of the Commission, the higher education will absorb the attention and funds of the board, and primary instruction will be more neglected than ever. But with suitable rules laid down, and careful supervision, there is a prospect of a large and healthy development under the awakened interest and responsibility of personal and local direction.

It is a question of much importance, and one on which there was much difference of opinion amongst the members of the Commission, whether the secondary and higher education should be placed under the local boards, or reserved for separate management by Government through the Education Department, as at present. The subject was discussed, and it is practically left for Local Governments to decide, as they alone possess the requisite knowledge.

If English school boards find enough to do managing primary schools, and feel it not unworthy of their highest effort, surely the new school boards of India may well confine their undivided attention to the same important work. If the higher education were committed to their care, the likelihood is that primary instruction would be neglected for the greater interest and superior advantages to be derived from English culture, as the key to office and emolument for their children, and little would be done to render such schools self-supporting. That can be done far better by Government, which can promote successful students, and at the same time

¹ ix. 4 and 3, 9, 10 (c).

encourage the spirit of independence. For many reasons the control and direction of the higher education should remain in the hands of Government, even while transferring its management to local voluntary agency.

We are glad to see that it is proposed to place secondary education on a more healthy basis, by opening an alternative course between a strictly English education, with a view to lucrative employment, and a course of study in the vernacular languages and the classics of India, similar to the division in our country into the course of commercial study and that of the dead languages.¹

One hopeful direction in which the Commission recommends the extension of primary education is by improving the indigenous schools of the country, which have, until lately, been generally neglected or despised by a system, which in its martinet spirit could see no good in these old and simple institutions, which had turned out many a distinguished scholar from what seemed no better than the old dame-schools of England or hedge-schools of Ireland.² They were not despised by men like Thomason forty years ago; and happily, of late, a few directors like Mr. Colin Browning in the Central Provinces, Mr. Croft in Bengal, and Mr. Grigg and his predecessor Col. MacDonald in Madras, have done much to develop these relics of an early age into hopeful schools of modern culture.

There is a healthy tone in the Recommendations for the development of Indigenous Schools running through the whole of Section I., and in those relating to Primary Schools, Section II. There is cordial recognition of what is good in old systems, and an effort to get rid of that pedantic egotism which would attempt, by a stroke of the pen, to transform institutions which have survived the ages of a venerable civilization into the "span new" seminaries of the nineteenth century.

¹ iii. 1, 2, iv. 6, 7.

² i. 1, 7, ii. 8, 9, 22.

II.

THE RELATIONS OF SCHOOL BOARDS TO AIDED INSTITUTIONS.

The next subject in which our Council has all along felt, and at this critical period feels a special interest, is the relation of these proposed school boards to the extra-departmental efforts represented by aided institutions, and the administration of the system of grants-in-aid.

It is a question which will naturally interest Missionary Societies, but it affects a much larger constituency. The aided institutions of all classes in India are liable to suffer if left to the tender mercies of the majorities of the various castes or creeds, as they happen to prevail in different parts of the country; and it would be well that all the managers of institutions of this class should act with some kind of concert. It is an intricate and difficult problem. Some are disposed to cut the knot by having all grants-in-aid administered directly by Government, and some missionaries are advocating this already. But it will be well to look at the question all round before coming to such a conclusion. Not only would such a plan put aided institutions in an unsympathetic, if not antagonistic attitude towards others of the same character under the school boards, but they would be cut off from an important source of revenue. The imperial or provincial allotment for education would be insufficient for the present support of aided institutions; much more insufficient for its extension.

Even now, missionary as well as other aided schools receive grants-in-aid from municipal funds and local revenues.

The Commission has anticipated the difficulty; and if their Recommendations are put in force by Government, it will be fairly met by such restrictions as will secure the supervision and control of these new boards by such rules as the following:—

1st. Provincial Governments are recommended—

(a) To lay down definite rules, not only as to the amount of money to be devoted to the different kinds of

schools, but to fix the rate at which aid is to be given to schools of each class, so that the law may not be evaded by mere nominal grants; and, moreover, to reassert the principle of the Despatch of 1854, "that aided institutions are to be specially encouraged, not only as the most economical form of education, but as best fitted to call forth the spirit of self-help, which is itself an important part of education."¹

- (b) That every application for a grant-in-aid receive an official reply.²
- (c) That if a grant be refused, the reasons for refusal must be given in writing.³
- (d) And, finally, the right of appeal to the Government on the solid ground of their own regulations.⁴

2nd. It is also recommended that the Government have the power of removing any institution from the control of the school board, and even to remove a whole class of institutions in any district, if thought desirable; ⁵ and we see that some of the Provincial Governments suggest that all schools of the higher class be kept under Government control, and that primary instruction only be put under the school boards.

3rd. As a further security it is recommended that when aided institutions are put under school boards, all the internal arrangements remain, as before, in the hands of its managers.⁶

4th. While private individuals, magistrates, and collectors will be encouraged and expected to inspect and examine aided, as well as board schools, it will only be on the reports of the official inspectors that grants will be regulated.⁷

5th. Perhaps the greatest and most hopeful of the Recommendations of the Commission are those in which they propose that in future the managers of aided institutions be placed as far as possible on a footing of equality with those of Government. Hitherto they have been regarded as not only outside the department, but beneath the humblest representative of the Education Office, and their work as not only different

¹ ix. 4, 9, 10, ii. 30 (a), 31 (a), vi. 9—24. ² vi. 6. ³ vi. 6, 7.

⁴ ix. 7, and vi. 9, 24. ⁵ ix. 3 (a).

⁶ ix. 3 (c), 6, ii. 10. ⁷ v. 9, 15—17.

from, but antagonistic to, that of Government. It is true that many of the representatives of the Education Department were able to rise above the spirit of official dignity and reserve, and on certain occasions consulted the representatives of aided institutions, but it was only as a favour, and never as of right. Now it is proposed that it be a rule that conferences of Government inspectors and the managers of aided institutions be held at stated times, with the Director of Public Instruction as Chairman; that mutual consultations be held regarding text-books, fees, examinations, &c., &c., and that examiners be appointed from aided as well as Government schools.¹ The frequency of the references to this subject shows the importance attached to it, as well as the felt need for a change.

In so far as we can judge, these Recommendations, if approved by the Indian Government, and faithfully carried out in the provinces, would give ample security to aided institutions, and are quite as favourable to Christian as to heathen or Muhammadan institutions. Each of these parties is liable to be in the minority in different districts of India, and needs to be protected from the oppression of the majority; and none will be so much in need of protection from prejudices of the Brahminical classes, who will have a large share of influence in school boards, as the lower castes of Hindus, unless it be the outcasts and aborigines. The power, external to the school board, which can protect these, the weakest of all parties in India, can protect any who need protection..

In dealing with *aided* institutions, it is of the first importance that it be distinctly understood that the rules for grants-in-aid apply only to those which are supported by *voluntary* contributions, either native or foreign. There is a disposition, on the part of Directors of Public Instruction, to regard those maintained by municipal bodies out of grants from local funds, as on the same footing as schools supported by private munificence or benevolent societies. This confusion is as fatal in policy as it is false in principle. The difference between institutions supported by a legal tax, or

¹ v. 2, vi. 8, iii. 9, 17, 18.

fund derived from taxation, and those supported by voluntary contributions, is "wide as the poles asunder," and if they are brought into competition and put on the same footing, the voluntary institutions must go to the wall, and the grand design of the Government to foster native effort, and the spirit of self-help, will be defeated. Let municipal bodies be encouraged to set up schools by all means, but they must be treated in the same way as Government institutions, and required to charge a higher fee than the aided schools; and it should still be the aim to transfer all municipal schools of the higher class to what the *Despatch* means by *local effort* and *voluntary* liberality.

III.

THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION TO LOCAL MANAGEMENT.

In dealing with secondary and higher education, the departmental character of the Commission shows itself in the feeble and hesitating character of the Recommendations. But allowance must be made for them, in face of the delicate nature of the subject, and the strength of native prejudices. It is possible that, if they had ventured on a more vigorous policy, they might have done less in the long-run. The Council on Education has never advocated any harsh or wholesale measures in dealing with Government Colleges; and while we think more might and ought to have been done, we view with pleasure the generous and loyal spirit in which they assert principles which, if fully carried out, would be all that could well be desired. We gratefully acknowledge the frank and full declaration of the principle that, "in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid," and "that all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management, of Government schools of secondary instruction,

in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard or diminishing the supply of education, or endangering the permanence of the institution transferred."

The following Recommendations in regard to the transfer of colleges, though weaker than we were entitled to look for, are not unsatisfactory, and if honestly carried out, will accomplish much good :¹—

"32. That in dealing with the question of the withdrawal of Government from the management of existing colleges, these colleges be regarded as divided into three classes, viz.:—

"(a) Those from which it is premature for Government to consider the propriety of withdrawal on the ground that they are and will long continue to be the institutions on which the higher education of the country mainly depends.

"(b) Those that might be transferred with advantage, as a measure promising useful political results, to bodies of native gentlemen ; provided the new managers give satisfactory guarantees that the college will be maintained (1) permanently, (2) in full efficiency, (3) in such a way as to make it adequate for all the wants of the locality.

"(c) Those which have been shown to be unsuccessful, or of which the cost is out of proportion to the utility, and from which Government might advantageously withdraw even with less stringent guarantees for permanent efficiency. Such colleges should be closed if, after due notice, no local body be formed to carry them on with such grant-in-aid as the rules provide."

All parties will approve the rule laid down, that while aiming at the transference of colleges or high schools from Government to local management, it be understood that such transference be not made to a missionary body. It would be wrong in principle, and in the long-run injurious to the cause of missions.

We do not expect colleges to be supported by fees, though

¹ vi. 27, 28, 30—35.

they might be in many cases raised. But what is to hinder the rich natives of our Presidential cities from endowing their colleges, as much poorer places have done, and as they have done before?

These Recommendations, read in the light of the actual transfer of two colleges to native management during the sitting of the Commission, and the naming of all the second-grade Government colleges of Madras Presidency for immediate transfer, and of three colleges in Bengal for extinction, if they cannot be transferred as is required by Rule (c), and three more to be dealt with under Rule (b), are hopeful, and likely to lead to important results.

Neither do we object to the recommendation to raise colleges to a higher grade, where they are really needed, as in Ahmedabad and Jabalpur,¹ but we do object to the extreme indulgence shown to the colleges in the three Presidency towns. We would not greatly object to these colleges being kept under Government control, if the natives of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay desire such patronage, or tutelary care. But why are they not required to pay for keeping up these expensive institutions, when they desire such advantages from them? Why should much smaller and poorer towns be ordered to make provision for the support of their colleges under the threat of their being abandoned, while rich cities like Calcutta and Bombay, or even Madras, are called on for no corresponding sacrifice; but are to be provided with the most complete and costly institutions to so great an extent at the expense of the State, or rather that of taxes on the poor, who derive little or no profit from them? Either Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras are to be pauperized by getting their colleges comparatively free, or Berhampore, Chittagong, Krishnaghur, and others are to be victimized by being called on to pay for or lose them. If it be said that these smaller towns are not so important, and will not suffer by the loss of what they do not sufficiently appreciate to pay for, then the Education Department have been guilty of great indiscretion in establishing and keeping up these colleges when they were not needed.

¹ iv. 1.

But we entirely dissent from the principle, that Government is called on to support colleges where they are appreciated, and where their advantages have been felt in raising their graduates to positions of power and wealth, and to be abandoned because they are not appreciated, from the advantages of the higher education not having been realized. If the State is to be at the cost of setting up colleges, it should be where they are needed for the elevation of the people, by creating a taste for study, and showing what the nature and advantages of a good education are. These are sufficiently understood in our Presidential cities; and if the State must maintain its colleges in these old seats of learning in order to keep up the standard of education, and exercise a beneficent patronage and wise control, then let the wealthy citizens be required to endow them as they are well able to do. Such institutions cannot be supported by fees alone. The wealthy natives have the power, and if stimulated by the Government, the disposition to endow them. We trust that the Government of India will step in to make up for the weakness of the Recommendations on this point. It is both its duty and interest to do so.

We have much pleasure in noticing that the Commission, with that sense of justice which led the majority to sacrifice many a prejudice, and often to give way to the views of the minority, whom they could easily have overborne by their numerical departmental superiority, have unanimously recommended that scholarships, derived from provincial or local funds, be open alike to all scholars, whether from Government or aided schools, either of natives or missionaries, and that the successful candidates be at full liberty to study wherever they choose; thus redressing a grievance and injustice which have long been keenly felt in many parts of India. The Recommendations as to the future rate of grants to aided colleges, and fees to be charged, are also fair and satisfactory.¹

¹ vi. 14—19, vi. 2, 3, iv. 2, 10, 11, 13—19. So for secondary schools, iii. 9, 10, 13—16.

IV.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF NEUTRALITY IN RELIGIOUS TEACHING.

There is one Recommendation of the Commission to which we must call attention, as it is, though apparently fair and harmless in itself, liable to much abuse, while quite uncalled for either on the ground of principle or any practical difficulty.

Near the close of the sittings of the Commission, it was proposed to introduce a clause to allow of children being withdrawn from all aided schools and colleges during the hours of religious teaching. This the Commission rejected as unfair, and a needless interference with a class of institutions which had done a great and good work for education in India, and which it was of much importance to encourage. But the following greatly modified form of the proposal was passed, limiting the application of the rule to the few cases in which there was only one school of its class in any place. The following are the words :—

“That the system of grants-in-aid be based, as heretofore, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted: provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction, without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.”

To which the following was added :—“26. That a parent be understood to consent to his child's passing through the full curriculum of the school, unless his intention to withdraw him from religious instruction be intimated at the time of the child's first entering the school, or at the beginning of a subsequent term.”

This Recommendation is in itself comparatively innocuous,

and if the natives of India were let alone, it would, in all well-conducted mission schools, be as much a dead letter as a similar rule of much wider application in the Education Code of England is found to be in practice. But the people of India may not be let alone. There are both native and English agitators of the secular propagandist school who might stir up strife on such a subject, and use this small measure as the thin edge of the wedge to drive home their extreme views, in opposition to all religious teaching.

The rule was introduced with a reference to mission schools, as in them only is taught a religion antagonistic to all the other religions of the country. But the fact was overlooked by its advocates, that there are in India many systems of religion, as hostile to other forms of religion, as Christianity is to all of them; that, in fact, religion and caste differences lead to more bitter feeling, and even open hostility, than Christianity itself.¹ It is a great truth, as enunciated by the best informed of Indian statesmen, Lord Lawrence, that "Christian truth, taught in a Christian spirit, will not cause hostility in India." Besides, it must be kept in mind that Muhammadans and Sikhs, and even some Hindus, regard their schools as not only conservative of their own religion, but as aggressive on the religion of others; and on the other hand, Christian schools are in many cases not mere aggressive institutions, but in some parts of India are needed for the conservation of

¹ The bearing of this Recommendation on the schools of Indian sects and castes was entirely overlooked in the discussions which preceded its adoption, but is fully realized now, as appears from the "protest" recorded by Mr. Telang, who would have made it of universal application. He says, "I wish to notice one misapprehension on this subject. It is not correct to say that the proposal of a conscience clause is exclusively aimed at Christian Missionaries, though it most certainly is aimed mainly at them. We have already seen the beginnings of educational activity on the part of the Brahmo Samajes and the Prarthana Samajes throughout the country. To them, as well as to the various religious persuasions—Hindus, Muhammadans, &c.—which are referred to in the Despatch, and to which Lord Ripon appealed in his address before the University of Calcutta, a similar rule ought to be made applicable." The fact is, that Christian children are much more likely to take advantage of such a rule than any other class of the community.

Christian children from heathen influence. But its application to mission schools is limited and comparatively unimportant.

We have reason to believe that no mission school in such a peculiar position would seek to violate the conscience of any Hindu or Muhammadan pupil. It is found that the few cases in which objection is made to religious teaching, do not come from honest Hindus or Muhammadans, but from persons who object to any form of religious teaching, because they believe in none; and one of the worst effects of *legislation* on such a subject is, that it gives the sanction of the Government to the baneful idea that the highest form of education is compatible with the entire absence of religious culture.

The cases in which this new rule, if sanctioned, would take effect in Christian schools are so rare, that Societies in this country may safely leave the matter in the hands of the Indian Government. The attention of Lord Ripon has been drawn to the subject, and its careful consideration in Council has been promised. But while content to leave it there, we think it right, in the interests of morality and of all forms of religion, to state our reasons of dissent from such a change of policy.

We object to this Recommendation for the following, among other reasons:—

1st. It is in direct violation of the principle of religious neutrality, as laid down in the Despatch of 1854, as carried out by every Government of India. Whatever view may be taken of that side of this subject, as to the exclusion of religious teaching in Government schools and colleges, no reason has ever been given against the other side of it as giving full liberty for religious teaching in aided institutions. That the act meant *non-interference* in religious matters, is so obviously on the face of it as to need neither quotation nor argument. In the words of the Recommendation of which we complain, it is explicitly admitted, and the new rule is as explicitly brought in as an *exception* to its universal application.

This of itself is enough to condemn the action of the Commission, which was appointed to see to the more thorough

carrying out of the provisions of that Act. The Resolution of the Government in India constituting the Commission, lays down the following rule limiting and directing its action :—

“It will be the duty of the Commission to inquire particularly into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 ; and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable, in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. The Government of India is firmly convinced of the soundness of that policy, and has no wish to depart from the principles upon which it was based ” (R. 6).

On this ground alone the Indian Council would be more than justified in rejecting this Recommendation, and we trust that it will be rejected, as the attention of Lord Ripon has been fully called to its injurious tendency.

2nd. We object to such a change of policy as being quite uncalled for, and in opposition to much of the evidence which has come before the Commission, and as a most unwise interference with the smooth working of an act which has been in operation for more than a quarter of a century, without any complaint from the orthodox Hindus or Muhammadans, who are in favour of religious teaching, and would rather that their children were imbued with Christian morality, than impregnated with atheistic licentiousness. Almost the only objections which have been made to Christian teaching in aided institutions have come from the sceptical fledglings from our colleges, and sometimes from their secularist teachers.

The most conclusive proof that there is no well-grounded objection to the teaching of the Scriptures in aided schools was brought out by the question of Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby) in his Despatch of 1859. It had been reported at headquarters that the grants-in-aid to mission schools had been one cause of the discontent which led to the rebellion in 1857. Lord Stanley points out that the objections were vague, and that it was Government interference with education in any shape which seemed to be objected to ; he demands, however, an explicit reply, and closes his Despatch with these words—“ I rely on your immediate attention being

given to this subject, and I shall hope to receive your report at the earliest practicable period."

The records of the India House have been carefully searched, and the most reliable authority reports that "no reply has been sent to Lord Stanley's inquiry from any part of India," and that "there is no reference to any connection between education and the Mutiny in the correspondence since the date of the Despatch."

In such circumstances, to raise new questions on a subject of such delicacy, is as unwise as it is uncalled for. Even the show of an over-zealous tenderness for native susceptibilities is likely to raise native suspicions. There are no people in the world who are so much under the old-world dread of doubtful gifts expressed in the hackneyed phrase, "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*"

3rd. Again, we wish the Recommendation thrown out because of its injurious effect on the aided schools of the natives, in which their own religions are taught. We would see fair play to all, and, in the interests of morality, prefer to have selections from the better portions of the sacred books of a heathen religion taught rather than none. One of the objects which the Education Department is called upon by the Commission to aim at in future is to improve the schools which are taught in mosques and temples throughout India, by getting the teachers or managers to impart secular instruction along with the religious, which has hitherto been their exclusive study. This Recommendation, if proposed to Muhammadans in some parts of India, where they are in the minority, would preclude the idea of receiving a grant-in-aid of their schools on such a condition, and it would be equally fatal in the case of the Hindu in places where they are in the minority, and might be as injurious to both, in some parts of the south-west where Christianity is in some places in the ascendant. In fact, the Recommendation is a two-edged weapon of which the back-stroke would be more fatal to the native schools of India than the downward blow which was aimed at the institutions of the foreigner.

4th. The Recommendation is objectionable because it would defeat one of the principal aims of the Commission, as well as

one of the leading objects of the Despatch of 1854—the extension of the grant-in-aid system by the development of voluntary effort in education. If the Government of India could expend its millions for education, as in this country, or if their people, like ours, could stand taxation on a large scale, it might be possible for Government to be indifferent to voluntary effort, or even to be disposed, as many in this country are, to discourage it. But when we consider that hitherto Government has never given more than *three-quarters of a million* sterling per annum for the education of a population of two hundred millions, and when we look to the poverty of the masses of the people, it cannot afford to despise assistance from whatever quarter it is offered. In India, voluntary liberality for the promotion of education has been a favourite manifestation of native beneficence, and a religious duty from time immemorial. Of late years it has been cramped and chilled by the Education Department taking all the responsibilities and burdens of education on itself, and doing on a small scale by the Government, what could have been done on a much larger scale by developing the spirit of self-help, throwing the responsibility on the people, and calling forth the liberality of the wealthy and charitable. This was the policy so clearly laid down in the Despatch of 1854, which the Commission has wisely recalled and emphasized, but by this rule would nullify.

1. If charity is to be relied on for the extension of education, care must be taken to leave it perfectly free from all restrictions. Charity is a sensitive grace in Brahmin, Moslem, or Christian, and it will be found, as a rule, that charity for this, as for all good objects, is based on and fed by the religious sentiment; and in the case of education, is founded on a strong conviction that education without religion is of little or no value; and if this sentiment be tampered with, the sources of liberality may be dried up, and many of the best schools in India closed, while the most important part of a nation's education will be neglected—the spirit of self-help and of mutual sympathy and support.

V.

RESOLUTION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT ON LOCAL
GOVERNMENT.

We call attention to the Resolution of the Indian Government regarding the extension of *local self-government*, on the lines laid down by Lord Mayo, as approved by the Secretary of State in Council in this country, and now under the consideration of, or in the act of being applied by, the different Provincial Governments of India. We give only a brief outline of such parts of that important document as are likely to bear on the constitution and powers of school boards. That it will affect the constitution and powers of school boards is obvious from the form of the Resolution, and is already seen in the answers received from several of the Provincial Governments. In many cases the school board will be a department or sub-committee of the local board.

There is no intention on the part of Lord Ripon and his Council to hand over the government, even in regard to local affairs, to the natives of India without good securities for the work being done as well, or better than formerly, though it may lead to some irregularities at first. While there will be an honest attempt to transfer real power to local bodies, the reins will not be allowed to drop from the hands of the Government. The new boards will be composed, as largely as is thought safe by the Government of each province, of the most trustworthy men in each district, one-half or two-thirds of them being unconnected with Government, the other half or third being officials. The selection is to be by Government appointment, or by the free choice of such portions of the population as may be thought best qualified for such a responsibility. The president of the board being in every case either appointed by, or approved of by the magistrate or collector of the district, and, if thought desirable, will be a Government official. Diversity, rather than any forced attempt at symmetrical uniformity, being

thought desirable in a country like India, the arrangements will be drawn up in the most elastic form, so as to allow of full play for local characteristics and habits, keeping in mind the fact that in many cases local self-government, where it does not already exist in municipal institutions, will only be a restoration of, or an approximation to ancient customs, of which the people of India had been deprived by ourselves or previous conquerors.

The action of these local boards will be regulated by rules laid down for their guidance within prescribed limits, and in important matters like the imposition of taxes, or raising of loans, &c., the assent of the magistrate will be required before they are enforced. He can also require attention to anything which is neglected, and if anything is done of which he disapproves, he can impose a veto.

The magistrate may even suspend any local board, whose action he considers seriously wrong, but for this he must have the consent of the Government. External control, and as little interference with internal management as possible, being the principle acted on.

If school boards are established on these lines—as we presume they will be, for there are no rules laid down by the Commission—it is obvious that the future of education, while largely brought under native influence, will still be practically under Government control in India, as it is in our own country, and much will depend on the cordiality of the relations existing between the parties interested. The Commission wisely recommends that there be, at stated times, conferences between the managers of all aided institutions and Government inspectors and directors, and that all parties be consulted when rules are drawn up regarding inspection and grants-in-aid examinations.

It is impossible to say to what extent the Resolution of the Indian Government on local self-government will be accepted and applied in the different provinces. Still less can we know of the disposition of the Provincial Governments towards the Recommendations of the Education Commission. Great changes will doubtless take place, but the character of these changes is most uncertain, and cannot but

cause anxiety to the friends of education. India is in a state of transition. It cannot remain stationary. There are forces at work which cannot be easily controlled or directed, and they cannot be suppressed but at the risk of explosion. These new forces have been called forth by the light which has been streaming in through many channels, ever since European power asserted itself in that stagnant country, and if there is one direction in which they can be more safely and usefully diverted than another, it is that of education, for which there is both a newly awakened desire and historic precedent.

CONCLUSION.

It will be seen from the preceding analysis, that while we do not agree with the whole of the 220 Recommendations of the Commission, and have emphasized some points in which they come short of our expectations, we do approve of them as a whole, and are convinced that they are fitted to promote the great object at which we have all along aimed.

There are many features of these Recommendations on which we could expatiate with much satisfaction, but now that the whole are in the hands of our friends, it is neither necessary nor desirable to enlarge on them.

We may, however, call attention to the oft-repeated references to the subject of Primary Instruction, which are very satisfactory, as will be seen by consulting the following Recommendations under their different heads: Sect. II. 3, 4; III. 23; V. 17; VI. 24; and others which might be quoted, such as the whole of Sect. I. on Indigenous Education, the Recommendations on Aboriginal Tribes under (c), and on Low Castes under (d) in Sect. VII. But perhaps the most gratifying of all in this respect are those of Sect. VIII. on Female Education, to which special attention was directed during the whole of the inquiry. The arrangements proposed are most encouraging to every form of voluntary effort. The restrictions are few, and the proposed grants-in-aid are liberal. We trust that a new era has dawned for the long-neglected

women of India, and that all true philanthropists will hasten to the rescue of the future mothers of our fellow-subjects in that country, from the debasing ignorance and superstition in which they have been so long sunk. In this field direct Government effort is powerless. It is by voluntary agency that the work must be done ; and here no agency is so trusted and effective as that of Christian Societies who began this work, and still are the most successful labourers in the field.

We mark with much satisfaction the broad and sympathetic character of the Recommendations, in contrast to the stiff and tight-laced forms of the past, giving much greater freedom in adapting education to the wants of particular localities, and the circumstances of special classes. A glance at the following Recommendations scattered through the different sections will show this : Sect. I. 2, 5, 6, 7 ; II. 4, 8, 9, 22 ; V. 6, 8, 23 ; VI. 3, 4 ; III. 22, &c.

The provision proposed for the extension of grants-in-aid and gradual transfer of Government institutions of the higher grades to local management, are fair and liberal. In addition to what we have said on this subject, we would call attention to the following Recommendations in Sect. VI. 10, 11, 21, 23, 27, 28, 30.

The Recommendations relating to Moral and Social Culture are in the right direction, though we question the possibility of providing a moral text-book, based on the principles common to all religions. The Commission itself seems to have had doubts on the subject, and speaks only of *an attempt* to construct such a book. We regard the proposal with favour, as an indication of the felt need for such a subject forming an important part of education in the future, and an acknowledgment of the shortcoming, in this respect, of Government Colleges and High Schools in the past. It is by *aided* institutions that moral and religious instruction can be given with fairness and good effect. Those Recommendations regarding the importance of cultivating the character, the conduct, and manners of the pupils in all schools, have our unqualified approval : Sect. IV. 8, 9 ; III. 19 ; II. 13.

The attention to physical development, and the encourage-

ment of manly sports, will meet with universal approval :
Sect. II. 13.

In conclusion, we are glad to be able to say, after careful study of these Recommendations of the Commission, and repeated consultations with the most competent authorities in this country, both secular and religious, that we regard them as, on the whole, highly satisfactory ; and that with such improvements as we have suggested, our great desire and aim must be, to see them embodied in some brief legislative measure by the Indian Government, and placed under such executive control as shall ensure their being faithfully administered ; until this is done, we cannot look on our labours as completed.

The entire Report, including these Recommendations, has been sent down by the Indian Government to the Provincial Governments for their opinions, before coming to any decision ; for this we wait in hope, but not without solicitude. While we have confidence in Lord Ripon and his Council, there are adverse external influences not easily overcome. It remains for the " Council on Education " to consider whether they can best secure the great object at which they aim—the education of the masses of India, by silence, or by a frank expression of opinion.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION.

I.

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION.

1. That an indigenous school be defined as one established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.

2. That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognized and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever.

3. That the best practicable method of encouraging indigenous schools of a high order, and desiring recognition, be ascertained by the Education Departments in communication with pandits, maulavis, and others interested in the subject.

4. That preference be given to that system which regulates the aid given mainly according to the results of examinations.

5. That special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training.

6. That a steady and gradual improvement in indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their *personnel* or curriculum as possible.

7. That the standards of examination be arranged to suit each province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.

Note.—In the following pages a number of words, such as Municipal, Local Funds, District, Department, &c., will be found without the dignity of initial capitals. Owing to the unaccountable delay in the issue of the "Report" of the "Commission," we sent to the printer a reprint of the "Recommendations" in an Indian newspaper, in which the omissions occur. We can vouch for the accuracy of every word and sentence by a careful comparison with the Report now in our hands; but where the sense was in no way affected, we avoided delay by not deranging the type for these corrections.

8. That indigenous schools receiving aid be inspected *in situ*, and as far as possible the examinations for their grants-in-aid be conducted *in situ*.

9. That aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all classes and castes of the community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low caste pupils.

10. That such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town and district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.

11. That where Municipal and Local boards exist, the registration, supervision, and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to such boards; provided that boards shall not interfere in any way with such schools as do not desire to receive aid, or to be subject to the supervision of the boards.

12. That the aid given to elementary indigenous schools be a charge against the funds at the disposal of Local and Municipal boards, where such exist; and every indigenous school which is registered for aid, receive from such boards the aid to which it is entitled under the rules.

13. That such boards be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and to establish fresh schools of their own, only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.

14. That the local inspecting officers be *ex-officio* members of Municipal or District school-boards.

15. That the officers of the Education Department keep lists of all elementary indigenous schools, and assist the boards in selecting schools to be registered for aid, and in securing a proportionate provision of education for all classes of the community.

II.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

1. That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will

best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University.

2. That the upper primary and lower primary examinations be not made compulsory in any Province.

3. That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed, in a still larger measure than heretofore.

4. That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.

5. That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognized as an important means of extending elementary instruction.

6. That examinations by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ*, and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ*.

7. That as a general rule, aid to primary schools be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination; but an exception may be made in the case of schools established in backward districts, or under peculiar circumstances, which may be aided under special rules.

8. That school-houses and furniture be of the simplest and most economical kind.

9. That the standards of primary examination in each Province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India.

10. That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of management of aided schools in the choice of text-books.

11. That promotion from class to class be not necessarily made to depend on the results of one fixed standard of examinations uniform throughout the province.

12. That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.

13. That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of the children; and that for the guidance of the masters a special manual be prepared.

14. That the existing rules, as to religious teaching in Government schools, be applied to all primary schools wholly maintained by municipal or local fund boards.

15. That the supply of Normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localized as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the division under each inspector.

16. That the first charges on provincial funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection, and the provision of adequate normal schools.

17. That pupils in municipal or local board schools be not entirely exempted from payment of fees, merely on the ground that they are the children of ratepayers.

18. That in all board schools a certain proportion of pupils be admissible as free students on the ground of poverty, and in the case of special schools, established for the benefit of poorer classes, a general or larger exemption from payment of fees be allowed under proper authority for special reasons.

19. That subject to the exemption of a certain proportion of free students on account of poverty, fees, whether in money or in kind, be levied in all aided schools; but the proceeds be left entirely at the disposal of the school managers.

20. That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution, dated 11th October, 1844, be re-affirmed, i.e. that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government, preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

21. That the Local Governments, especially those of Bombay and of the North-Western Provinces, be invited to consider the advisability of carrying out the suggestion con-

tained in paragraph 96 of the Despatch of 1854, namely, of making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation of hereditary village officers, such as Patels and Lambardars.

22. That night-schools be encouraged wherever practicable.

23. That as much elasticity as possible be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages and backward districts.

24. That primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of Government, pending the creation of school boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

25. That all primary schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-funds, and all primary schools that are aided from the same funds and are not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all castes and classes of the community.

26. That such a proportion between special and other primary schools be maintained in each school district, as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.

27. That assistance be given to schools and orphanages in which poor children are taught reading, writing, and counting, with or without manual work.

28. That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

29. That both municipal and local boards keep a separate school-fund.

30. That the municipal school fund consist of—

- (a) A fair proportion of municipal revenues, to be fixed in each case by the Local Government;
- (b) The fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the municipal school fund;
- (c) Any assignment that may be made to the municipal school fund from the local fund;

- (d) Any assignment from Provincial funds ;
- (e) Any other funds that may be entrusted to the municipality for the promotion of education ;
- (f) Any unexpended balance of the school fund from previous years.

31. That the local board's school-fund consist of—

- (a) A distinct share of the general local fund, which share shall not be less than a minimum proportion to be prescribed for each province ;
- (b) The fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund ;
- (c) Any contribution that may be assigned by municipal boards ;
- (d) Any assignment made from provincial funds ;
- (e) Any other funds that may be entrusted to the local boards for the promotion of education ;
- (f) Any unexpended balance of the school fund from previous years.

32. That the general control over primary school expenditure be vested in the school-boards, whether municipal or local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for self-government in each province.

33. That the first appointment of schoolmasters in municipal or local board-schools be left to the town or District Boards, with the proviso that the masters be certificated or approved by the department, and their subsequent promotion and removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the department.

34. That the cost of maintaining or aiding primary schools in each school district, and the construction and repair of board school-houses, be charges against the municipal or local board school-fund so created.

35. That the vernacular, in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school, maintained by any municipal or local board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the municipal or local board : provided that if there be any dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be

incumbent on the department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and it shall be incumbent on such municipal or local board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.

36. That municipal and local boards administering funds in aid of primary schools adopt the rules prescribed by the department for aiding such schools, and introduce no change therein without the sanction of the department.

III.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON SECONDARY EDUCATION.

1. That in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions—one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.

2. That when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or, if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service.

3. That high and middle schools be united in the returns under the single term "secondary schools," and that the classification of students in secondary schools be provided for in a separate table, showing the stage of instruction, whether primary, middle, or upper, of pupils in all schools of primary and secondary education.

4. That a small annual grant be made for the formation and maintenance of libraries in all high schools.

5. That the Grant-in-aid Code of each Province include provision for giving help to school managers in the renewal, and, if necessary, the increase, of their furniture and apparatus of instruction after stated intervals.

6. That an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary schools, Government or aided.

7. That graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction

in a normal school, in the principles and practice of teaching, be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

8. That the claims of efficient and successful teachers in aided schools be considered in making appointments to posts in the service of Government, and that in cases duly certified by the Education Department, the 25 years' rule be relaxed.

9. That the Director of Public Instruction, in consultation with the managers of schools receiving aid from Government, determine the scale of fees to be charged and the proportion of pupils to be exempted from payment therein.

10. That, in order to encourage the establishment of aided schools, the managers be not required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government school of the same class.

11. That scholarship-holders, as such, be not exempted from payment of the ordinary fees.

12. That in all provinces the system of scholarships be so arranged that, as suggested in the Despatch of 1854, they may form connecting links between the different grades of institutions.

13. That scholarships payable from public funds, including educational endowments not attached to a particular institution, be awarded after public competition, without restriction, except in special cases, to students from any particular class of schools.

14. That scholarships gained in open competition be tenable under proper safeguards to ensure the progress of the scholarship-holder, at any approved institution for general or special instruction.

15. That the attention of the Government of Bombay be invited to the fact that, while the Despatch of 1854 provides for the creation of both free and stipendiary scholarships tenable in Government and private schools alike, almost exclusive stress is now laid in that presidency upon free studentships, and that stipendiary scholarships are confined to students of Government schools.

16. That the Government of Madras be invited to consider the necessity of revising the system of scholarships in secondary schools in that presidency, with a view to bringing it into harmony with the provisions of the Despatch of 1854.

17. That in the conduct of all departmental examinations, managers and teachers of the various non-Government schools be associated, as far as possible, with the officers of the department.

18. That, in order to secure the efficiency of departmental examinations, examiners, whether officials or non-officials, be remunerated from the fees levied from candidates, increased, when necessary, by a grant from Government.

19. That the importance of requiring inspecting officers to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of pupils, be re-affirmed.

20. That continuous instruction in school without a break do not extend, as a rule, beyond three hours.

21. That in the Punjab the course in Persian of high schools do not extend beyond the standard of the entrance examination.

22. That promotions from class to class be left entirely to the discretion of the school authorities.

23. That it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that, therefore, in all ordinary cases secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid.

IV.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

1. That the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the recommendations made in the several provincial reports with regard to providing or extending the means of collegiate education in the province of Sindh, and at Ahmedabad in Bombay, at Bhagulpur in Bengal, and at Jabalpur in the

Central Provinces; and also to the question of the establishment of an aided college at Delhi under native management.

2. That the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality.

3. That provision be made for special grants to aided colleges, whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries, and other apparatus of instruction.

4. That in order to secure a due succession of competent officers in the Education Department, the period of necessary service qualifying for pension should be reduced, and that a graduated scale of pensions, based on length of service and obtainable without medical certificate, should be introduced.

5. That Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been, in the colleges maintained by Government.

6. That in order to encourage diversity of culture both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the universities.

7. That the discretionary power of principals of colleges, to admit to certain courses of lectures in special cases students who have not passed the examinations required by the universities, be affirmed.

8. That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

9. That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college, deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.

10. That while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate, consistent with the undiminished spread of education, should be levied in every college aided by the State, no aided college should be required to levy fees at

the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college.

11. That no college, Government or aided, be allowed to receive more than a certain proportion of free students; the proportion to be fixed by the department, in communication, where necessary, with the managers.

12. That to secure regularity of attendance at colleges, the principle be affirmed that fees, though levied monthly for the convenience of students, are to be regarded as payments for a term, and that a student has no right to a certificate from his college for any term, until the whole fee for that term is paid.

13. That as the fees in the Presidency College of Madras are considerably lower than those which it is found practicable to levy in the presidency colleges of Calcutta and Bombay, the Government of Madras be invited to consider the advisability of enhancing the rate of fees in that college.

14. That the Local Governments and administrations be invited to consider whether it is necessary to assign for scholarships tenable in arts colleges a larger proportion of the provincial grant for education than 2 per cent.

15. That scholarship-holders, as such, be not exempted from payment of the ordinary fees.

16. That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of appropriating, where necessary, a certain sum for the establishment of scholarships tenable by graduates reading for the M.A. degree.

17. That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for distinguished graduates, to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of mechanical industry.

18. That in place of the system existing in Madras, according to which the first twenty students at the University Entrance and F.A. examinations are allowed to read free in any Government college, liberal provision be made for a system of scholarships open to general competition and tenable in any college.

19. That the Government of Bombay be requested to consider whether all or some of the scholarships now restricted to the Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges may, with due regard

to the circumstances under which they were originally founded, be made tenable at any affiliated college; and that if these scholarships cannot fairly be opened to general competition, they be awarded, as far as possible, to poor students who, but for the stipends, would be unable to continue their studies at college.

V.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

1. That when an educational officer enters the higher graded service of the Education Department, his promotion should not involve any loss of pay.

2. That conferences (1) of officers of the Education Department, and (2) of such officers with managers of aided and unaided schools, be held from time to time for the discussion of questions affecting education, the Director of Public Instruction being in each case *ex-officio* president of the conference. Also that deputy inspectors occasionally hold local meetings of the schoolmasters subordinate to them, for the discussion of questions of school management.

3. That a general educational library and museum be formed at some suitable locality in each province, and that encouragement be given to school-papers or magazines conducted in the vernacular.

4. That managers of schools in competition be invited by the department to agree to rules providing, as far as the circumstances of the locality allow, (1) that, except at specified times, a pupil of one school be not admitted to another without a certificate from his previous school; (2) that any fees due to that school have been paid; and (3) that he do not obtain promotion into a higher class by changing his school.

5. That it be an instruction to the department in the various provinces to aim at raising fees gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions, up to the highest amount that will not check the spread of education, especially in colleges, secondary schools, and primary schools in towns where the value of education is understood.

6. That the Education Department in each province limit its calls for returns (1) to such as the Government may require, and (2) to such others as are indispensable for information and control.

7. (1) That all schools managed by the department, or by committees exercising statutory powers, and all other schools that are regularly aided or inspected, or that regularly send pupils to the examinations of the university or of the department (other than examinations that are conducted by the department for admission to the public service), be classed as public schools, and subdivided into departmental, aided, and unaided; (2) that all other schools furnishing returns to the department be classed as private schools; and (3) that all other details of classification be referred to the statistical committee appointed by the Government of India.

8. That no attempt be made to furnish financial returns for private schools.

9. That native and other local energy be relied upon to foster and manage all education as far as possible, but that the results must be tested by departmental agency, and that, therefore, the inspecting staff be increased so as to be adequate to the requirements of each province.

10. That the remuneration of subordinate inspecting officers be reconsidered in each province, with due regard to their enhanced duties and responsibilities.

11. That, as a general rule, transfers of officers from professorships of colleges to inspectorships of schools, and *vice versa*, be not made.

12. That it be distinctly laid down that native gentlemen of approved qualifications be eligible for the post of inspector of schools, and that they be employed in that capacity more commonly than has been the case hitherto.

13. That inspectresses be employed, where necessary, for the general supervision of Government, aided, and other girls' schools desiring inspection.

14. That in every province a code be drawn up for the guidance of inspecting officers.

15. That it be recognized as the duty of the Revenue Officers to visit the schools within their jurisdiction, communicating

to the executive officers or board to which each school is subordinate, any recommendations which they may desire to make.

16. That voluntary inspection by officers of Government and private persons be encouraged, in addition to the regular inspection of departmental and revenue officers.

17. That the detailed examination of scholars in primary schools be chiefly entrusted to the deputy inspectors and their assistants, and that the main duty of the inspectors in connection with such schools be to visit them, to examine into the way in which they are conducted, and to endeavour to secure the cordial support of the people in the promotion of primary education.

18. That the general upper and lower primary school examinations be not compulsory, but that the annual reports show the number of scholars in each stage of education.

19. That in every province in which examinations for the public service are held, they be so arranged as to give encouragement to vernacular education.

20. That the committees appointed to conduct the public service examinations, and other examinations of a similar kind, include representatives of non-Government schools as well as departmental officers.

21. That normal schools, Government or aided, for teachers of secondary schools be encouraged.

22. That the text-book committees in the several provinces include qualified persons of different sections of the community, not connected with the department, and that to these committees should be submitted all text-books, both English and vernacular, that it is proposed to introduce into schools, and all text-books now in use that may seem to need revision.

23. That the text-book committees of the several provinces act, as far as possible, in concert, and that they communicate to each other lists of English text-books, and in the case of those provinces which have any common language, lists of vernacular text-books which are satisfactory, and of books which they consider to be wanting or inadequate.

24. That the operations of the existing Government depôts

be confined, as soon as may be practicable, to the supply and distribution of vernacular text-books.

25. That care be taken to avoid, as far as possible, the introduction of text-books which are of an aggressive character, or are likely to give unnecessary offence to any section of the community.

26. That in the printing of text-books, specially vernacular text-books, attention be paid to clearness of typography.

VI.

RECOMMENDATION ON THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT.

1. That teachers in non-Government institutions be allowed to present themselves for examination for any grade of certificate required by the grant-in-aid rules, without being compelled to attend a normal school.

2. That in any statement of expenditure, required by the grant-in-aid rules from colleges whose Professors are prevented from receiving fixed salaries by the constitution of the religious societies to which they belong, the expenditure on the maintenance of such colleges be calculated at the rates current in aided institutions of the same general character.

3. That in schools aided on the result-system, variety in the course of instruction be encouraged by grants for special subjects.

4. That greater latitude be given to the managers of aided schools in fixing the course of instruction, and the medium through which it is conveyed.

5. That the payment-by-results system be not applied to colleges.

6. That every application for a grant-in-aid receive an official reply, and in case of refusal, that the reasons for such refusal be given.

7. That the proximity of a Government or of an aided school be not regarded as of itself a sufficient reason for refusing aid to a non-Government school.

8. That with the object of rendering assistance to schools

in the form best suited to the circumstances of each province, and thus to call forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules be revised by the Local Governments in concert with the managers of schools.

9. That in this revision the rules be so defined as to avoid any ambiguity as to the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled, the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus, and furniture being clearly stated; and that special reference be had to the complaints that have been made against existing systems, particularly the complaints dwelt upon in this report.

10. That whilst existing State institutions of the higher order should be maintained in complete efficiency wherever they are necessary, the improvement and extension of institutions under private management be the principal care of the department.

11. That in ordinary circumstances the further extension of secondary education in any district be left to the operation of the grant-in-aid system, as soon as that district is provided with an efficient high school, Government or other, along with its necessary feeders.

12. That it be a general principle that the grant-in-aid should depend—

(a) On locality, i.e. that larger proportionate grants be given to schools in backward districts.

(b) On the class of institution, i.e. that greater proportionate aid be given to those in which a large amount of self-support cannot be expected, e.g. girls' schools, and schools for lower castes and backward races.

13. That the following be adopted as general principles to regulate the amount of grants-in-aid, except in cases in which recommendations for special aid have been made:—

(a) That no grant be given to an institution which has become self-supporting by means of fees, and which needs no further development to meet the wants of the locality.

(b) That the amount of State aid (exclusive of scholarships from public funds) do not exceed one-half of the entire expenditure on an institution.

(c) That, as a general rule, this maximum rate of aid be

given only to girls' schools, primary schools, and normal schools.

14. That with a view to secure the co-operation of Government and non-Government institutions, the managers of the latter be consulted on matters of general educational interest, and that their students be admitted on equal terms to competition for certificates, scholarships, and other public distinctions.

15. That the Government of Bombay be invited to consider the propriety of converting the Dakshina Fellowships into University fellowships, with definite duties attached to them, to be tenable for a term of years, and open to all candidates irrespective of the college in which they have been trained.

16. That in Bengal the payment from the Mohsin Fund of two-thirds of the fees of Muhammadan students now confined to Government schools, be extended to Muhammadan students of non-Government schools approved by the department.

17. That grants be paid without delay when they become due according to the rules.

18. That care be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools.

19. That the revised rules for grants-in-aid and any subsequent alterations made in them be not merely published in the official gazettes, but translated into the vernacular, and communicated to the press, to the managers of aided and private institutions, and to all who are likely to help in any way in the spread of education.

20. That the further extension of female education be preferentially promoted by affording liberal aid and encouragement to managers who show their personal interest in the work, and only when such agency is not available by the establishment of schools under the management of the department, or of local or municipal boards.

21. That a periodically increasing provision be made in the educational budget of each province for the expansion of aided institutions.

22. That when any school or class of schools under departmental management is transferred to a local or municipal

board, the functions of such board be clearly defined, and that as a general rule, its powers include (a) the appointment of teachers qualified under the rules of the department; (b) the reduction or dismissal of such teachers, subject to the approval of the department; (c) the selection of the standard and course of instruction, subject to the control of the department; and (d) the determination of rates of fees and of the proportion of free students, subject to the general rules in force.

23. That if in any province the management of Government schools of secondary instruction be transferred either to municipalities or to local boards, or to committees appointed by those bodies, encouragement be given to the subsequent transfer of the schools concerned to the management of associations of private persons, combining locally with that object, provided they are able to afford adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

24. That when local and municipal boards have the charge of aiding schools—(1) their powers and duties be clearly defined; (2) that it be declared to be an important part of their duty to make provision for the primary education of the children of the poor; (3) that precautions be taken to secure that any assignment to them from public funds for purposes of education be impartially administered; and (4) that an appeal against any refusal of aid lie to the department.

25. That the system of grants-in-aid be based, as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted; provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.

26. That a parent be understood to consent to his child's passing through the full curriculum of the school, unless his intention to withdraw him from religious instruction be intimated at the time of the child's first entering the school, or at the beginning of a subsequent term.

27. That in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institution for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, wherever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

28. That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, provision be also made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings, and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of Government.

29. That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, the incumbents of offices under Government be secured in the enjoyment of all their existing rights and privileges.

30. That all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of secondary instruction (including schools attached to first or second-grade colleges), in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard, or diminishing the supply of education, and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred.

31. That the fact that any school raises more than 60 per cent. of its entire expenditure from fees, be taken as affording a presumption that the transfer of such school to local management can be safely effected.

32. That in dealing with the question of the withdrawal of Government from the management of existing colleges, these colleges be regarded as divided into three classes, viz.:—

(1) Those from which it is premature for Government to consider the propriety of withdrawal on the ground that they are, and will long continue to be, the institutions on which the higher education of the country mainly depends.

(2) Those that might be transferred with advantage, as a measure promising useful political results to bodies of native gentlemen, provided the new managers give satisfactory guarantees that the college will be maintained (1) permanently,

(2) in full efficiency, (3) in such a way as to make it adequate for all the wants of the locality.

(3) Those which have been shown to be unsuccessful, or of which the cost is out of proportion to the utility, and from which Government might advantageously withdraw, even with less stringent guarantees for permanent efficiency. Such colleges should be closed, if, after due notice, no local body be formed to carry them on with such a grant-in-aid as the rules provide.

33. That the Government of Madras be requested to consider the propriety of dealing with the second-grade Government colleges of that province, on the principles applicable to the second or third class, as may be deemed advisable in each case, in the light of the recommendations made by the Madras Provincial Committee.

34. That the Government of Bombay be requested to consider the propriety of raising the Ahmedabad College to one teaching up to the B.A. standard, and of securing its full efficiency for a term of years, on the condition that after that period it be treated on the principles applicable to the second class.

35. That the Government of Bengal be requested to consider the propriety of dealing with the Rajshahye and Krishnaghur Government colleges on the principles applicable to the second class, and with the colleges at Berhampore, Midnapore, and Chittagong on the principles applicable to the third class, as suggested by the Bengal Provincial Committee.

36. That the bestowal of patronage in Government appointments be so ordered as to offer greater encouragement to high education.

VII.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING CLASSES REQUIRING SPECIAL TREATMENT.

(a) The Sons of Native Chiefs and Noblemen.

1. That Local Governments be invited to consider the question of establishing special colleges or schools for the

sons and relations of native chiefs and noblemen, where such institutions do not now exist.

2. That Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of entrusting the education of wards of court to the joint supervision of the district authorities and the educational inspectors.

(b) Muhammadans.

1. That the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on local, on municipal, and on provincial funds.

2. That indigenous Muhammadan schools be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their curriculum of instruction.

3. That special standards for Muhammadan primary schools be prescribed.

4. That Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Muhammadans in primary and middle schools, except in localities where the Muhammadan community desire that some other language be adopted.

5. That the official vernacular, in places where it is not Hindustani, be added, as a voluntary subject, to the curriculum of primary and middle schools for Muhammadans maintained from public funds; and that arithmetic and accounts be taught through the medium of that vernacular.

6. That in localities where Muhammadans form a fair proportion of the population, provision be made in middle and high schools maintained from public funds for imparting instruction in the Hindustani and Persian languages.

7. That higher English education for Muhammadans, being the kind of education in which that community needs special help, be liberally encouraged.

8. That, where necessary, a graduated system of special scholarships for Muhammadans be established, to be awarded—

(a) In primary schools, and tenable in middle schools.

(b) In middle schools, and tenable in high schools.

(c) On the results of the Matriculation and First Arts examinations, and tenable in colleges.

9. That in all classes of schools maintained from public

funds, a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students.

10. That in places where educational endowments for the benefit of Muhammadans exist, and are under the management of Government, the funds arising from such endowments be devoted to the advancement of education among Muhammadans exclusively.

11. That where Muhammadan endowments exist, and are under the management of private individuals or bodies, inducements by liberal grants-in-aid be offered to them to establish English-teaching schools or colleges on the grant-in-aid system.

12. That, where necessary, normal schools or classes for the training of Muhammadan teachers be established.

13. That wherever instruction is given in Muhammadan schools through the medium of Hindustani, endeavours be made to secure, as far as possible, Muhammadan teachers to give such instruction.

14. That Muhammadan inspecting officers be employed more largely than hitherto for the inspection of primary schools for Muhammadans.

15. That associations for the promotion of Muhammadan education be recognized and encouraged.

16. That in the annual reports on public instruction a special section be devoted to Muhammadan education.

17. That the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammadans and others.

18. That the principles embodied in the recommendations given above be equally applicable to any other races with similar antecedents, whose education is on the same level as that of the Muhammadans.

(c) *Aboriginal Tribes.*

1. That children of aboriginal tribes be exempted, wherever necessary, from payment of fees, over and above any general exemptions otherwise provided for.

2. That, if necessary, extra allowances be given under the

result system for boys of aboriginal tribes taught in ordinary schools.

3. That when children of aboriginal tribes are found sufficiently instructed to become schoolmasters among their own people, attempts be made to establish them in schools within the borders of the tribes.

4. That if any bodies be willing to undertake the work of education among aboriginal tribes, they be liberally assisted on the basis of abstention from any interference with any religious teaching.

5. That where the language of the tribe has not been reduced to writing, or is otherwise unsuitable, the medium of instruction be the vernacular of the neighbouring population with whom the aboriginal people most often come in contact.

6. That where the education of such tribes is carried on in their own vernacular, the vernacular of the neighbouring district be an additional subject of instruction where this is found advisable.

(d) Low Castes.

1. That the principle laid down in the Court of Directors' letter of May 5th, 1854, and again in their reply to the letter of the Government of India, dated May 20th, 1857, that "no boy be refused admission to a Government college or school merely on the ground of caste," and repeated by the Secretary of State in 1863, be now reaffirmed as a principle, and be applied with due caution to every institution not reserved for special races which is wholly maintained at a cost of public funds, whether provincial, municipal, or local.

2. That the establishment of special schools or classes for children of low caste be liberally encouraged in places where there is a sufficient number of such children to form separate schools or classes, and where the schools maintained from public funds do not sufficiently provide for their education.

VIII.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON FEMALE EDUCATION.

1. That female education be treated as a legitimate charge

alike on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial funds, and receive special encouragement.

2. That all female schools or orphanages, whether on a religious basis or not, be eligible for aid, so far as they produce any secular results, such as a knowledge of reading or of writing.

3. That the conditions of aid to girls' schools be easier than to boys' schools, and the rates higher—more especially in the case of those established for poor or for low-caste girls.

4. That the rules for grants be so framed as to allow for the fact that girls' schools generally contain a large proportion of beginners, and of those who cannot attend schools for so many hours a day, or with such regularity as boys.

5. That the standards of instruction for primary girls' schools be simpler than those for boys' schools, and be drawn up with special reference to the requirements of home life, and to the occupations open to women.

6. That the greatest care be exercised in the selection of suitable text-books for girls' schools, and that the preparation for such books be encouraged.

7. That while fees be levied where practicable, no girls' school be debarred from a grant on account of its not levying fees.

8. That special provision be made for girls' scholarships, to be awarded after examination, and that, with a view to encouraging girls to remain longer at school, a certain proportion of them be reserved for girls not under twelve years of age.

9. That liberal aid be offered for the establishment, in suitable localities, of girls' schools in which English should be taught in addition to the vernacular.

10. That special aid be given, where necessary, to girls' schools that make provision for boarders.

11. That the Department of Public Instruction, or various departments respectively, be requested to arrange, in concert with managers of girls' schools, for the revision of the code of rules for grants-in-aid in accordance with the above recommendations.

12. That as mixed schools, other than infant schools, are not generally suited to the conditions of this country, the

attendance of girls at boys' schools be not encouraged, except in places where girls' schools cannot be maintained.

13. That the establishment of infant schools or classes, under schoolmistresses, be liberally encouraged.

14. That female schools be not placed under the management of Local Boards or of Municipalities, unless they express a wish to take charge of them.

15. That the first appointment of schoolmistresses in girls' schools under the management of Municipal or Local Boards, be left to such boards, with the proviso that the mistress be either certificated or approved by the department; and that subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the department.

16. That rules be framed to promote the gradual supersession of male by female teachers in all girls' schools.

17. That in schools under female teachers, stipendiary pupil-teacherships be generally encouraged.

18. That the attention of Local Governments be invited to the question of establishing additional normal schools or classes, and that those under private management receive liberal aid, part of which might take the form of a bonus for every pupil passing the certificate examination.

19. That the departmental certificate examinations for teachers be open to all candidates, wherever prepared.

20. That teachers in schools for general education be encouraged, by special rewards, to prepare pupils for examinations for teachers' certificates, and that girls be encouraged by the offer of prizes to qualify for such certificates.

21. That liberal inducements be offered to the wives of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers, and that in suitable cases widows be trained as schoolmistresses, care being taken to provide them with sufficient protection in the places where they are to be employed as teachers.

22. That in districts where European or Eurasian young women are required as teachers in native schools, special encouragement be given to them to qualify in a vernacular language.

23. That grants for zenana teaching be recognized as a proper charge on public funds, and be given under rules which

will enable the agencies engaged in that work to obtain substantial aid for such secular teaching as may be tested by an inspectress or other female agency.

24. That associations for the promotion of female education by examinations or otherwise be recognized by the department, and encouraged by grants under suitable conditions.

25. That female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of female education, and be more largely employed than hitherto.

26. That an alternative subject in examinations suitable for girls be established, corresponding in standard to the matriculation examination, but having no relation to any existing university course.

27. That endeavours be made to secure the services of native gentlemen interested in female education, on committees for the supervision of girls' schools, and that European and native ladies be also invited to assist such committees.

IX.

ON LEGISLATION.

1. That the duties of municipal and local boards in controlling or assisting schools under their supervision, be regulated by local enactments suited to the circumstances of each province.

2. That the area of any municipal or rural unit of local self-government that may now or hereafter exist be declared to be a school district, and school-boards be established for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each district.

3. That the control of each school-board over all schools within the said school district be subject to the following provisions :—

(a) That it be open to the Local Government to exclude any school, or any class of schools, other than schools of primary instruction for boys, from the control of such school-board.

(b) That any school which is situated in the said school district, and which receives no assistance either from the board or the department, continue, if the managers so

desire it, to be independent of the control of the school board.

(c) That the managers of any institution which receives aid either from the board or the department continue to exercise, in regard to such institution, full powers of management, subject to such limitations as the Local Government may from time to time impose as a condition of receiving aid.

(d) That the school board may delegate to anybody appointed by itself, or subordinate to it, any duties in regard to any school or class of institutions under its control which it thinks fit so to delegate.

4. That the Local Government declare from time to time what funds constituting a school-fund shall be vested in any school board, for educational purposes, and what proportion of such school-fund shall be assigned to any class of education.

5. That it be the duty of every school board—

(a) To prepare an annual budget of its income and expenditure.

(b) To determine what schools shall be wholly maintained at the cost of the school fund, what schools are eligible for grants-in-aid, and which of them shall receive aid.

(c) To keep a register of all schools, whether maintained at the cost of public funds, or aided or unaided, which are situated in its school-district.

(d) To construct and repair school-houses, or to grant aid towards their construction or repair.

(e) Generally to carry out any other of the objects indicated in the various recommendations of the Commission, which in the opinion of the Local Government can best be secured by legislative enactment, or by rules made under the Act.

6. That the appointment, reduction of salary, or dismissal of teachers in schools maintained by the board be left to the school board; provided that the said board shall be guided in its appointments by any rules as to qualifications which may be laid down from time to time by the department; and provided that an appeal shall lie to the department against any order of dismissal or reduction of salary.

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7. That an appeal lie to the department against any order of a board in regard to such matters as the Local Government shall specify.

8. That every school board be required to submit to the Local Government, through the department, an annual report of its administration, together with its accounts of income and expenditure, in such form and on such date as shall be prescribed by the Local Government; and thereon the Local Government declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class, of which the supervision has been entrusted to such board, is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community; and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, it determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.

9. That it be incumbent upon every Local Government or administration to frame a code of rules for regulating the conduct of education by municipal and local boards in the provinces subject to such Local Government or administration.

10. That such code shall define and regulate—

- (a) The internal mechanism of the Education Department in regard to direction, inspection, and teaching;
- (b) The external relations of the department to private individuals and public bodies engaged in the work of education;
- (c) The scope, functions, and rules of the system of grants-in-aid;
- (d) The character of any special measures for the education of classes requiring exceptional treatment;
- (e) The scope and divisions of the annual report upon the progress of public instruction, together with the necessary forms of returns.

11. That power be reserved to the Local Government from time to time to add to, cancel, or modify the provisions of the said code.

12. That the code be annually published in the official *Gazette* in such a form as to show separately all articles which have been cancelled and modified, and all new articles which have been introduced since the publication of the last edition.

SECOND EDITION, with INTRODUCTION.

OUR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE VISCOUNT HALIFAX, P.C., G.C.B.,

AUTHOR OF

THE "DESPATCH ON GENERAL EDUCATION IN INDIA" OF 1854.

BY THE

REV. JAMES JOHNSTON.

"The main object of the despatch" of 1854, containing the present Code of Education for India, "is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses."—*Parliamentary Blue Book*, 1870.

"And now, after a lapse of twenty years, the emergent unavoidable question is, Why are there not plain indications of its speedy accomplishment? Is it not owing to the lack of faithfulness to its principles in the Education Department, tolerated by the Bengal Government."—*Allahabad Mission Conference*, 1873.

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INTRODUCTION TO SECOND EDITION.

No YOUTH in the world stood more in need of sound intellectual and moral training than that of India. In no nation was there more need for education being based on the pure morality of the Word of God, and the holy example of the Saviour of men, when Government awoke to its responsibility to give instruction to its Indian subjects.

Under the erroneous impression that to teach religion would imperil the empire, schools and colleges were set up, without any recognition of religion, at the expense of, and under the direct control of, the Government, which soon produced the evils which might have been expected in such circumstances and with such a population.

Had the East Indian Government been as well acquainted with India and human nature as was the late Lord Lawrence, they would have known that their fears were groundless. The following words from an old despatch are worthy of that true Christian statesman :—

“Sir John Lawrence does entertain the earnest belief that all those measures which are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India ; not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will never, the Chief Commissioner is convinced, alienate the heathen.”

It was in 1853 that I first saw the injurious effects of the operation of direct education in the higher departments of study by the Government, and the great good that might be effected, by a judicious assistance of independent effort on the part of the natives, by calling forth the liberality of British residents, and encouraging the labours of missionary societies.

The publication of the Education Despatch of 1854 was hailed by the friends of India as the wisest and best solution of a great and difficult question, which, in the circumstances, could be expected, although some ardent and enthusiastic Christians looked for a more decided and even aggressive policy in regard to Christian teaching.

Christian educationists saw that if the provisions for aiding equally, native and mission schools and colleges, as was most explicitly promised and provided for in the Despatch, were faithfully carried out, there would be no difficulty in the way of the rapid and almost indefinite extension of Christian instruction; not by asking any special favour for their institutions over those of the natives; not by any forcing of Christianity by Government authority; but by the natural and laudable method of providing the highest form of education in secular studies, along with the knowledge of Divine truth and the love of God, which commend themselves to the understanding and heart even of the heathen, when taught in a loving and sympathetic spirit.

It was their ardent hope that the moral, social, and political evils which they saw and lamented, as the inevitable outcome of direct Government education without religion, would in a large measure disappear,

along with the Government colleges which were chiefly responsible for them; and that they would be able to do a great work for the Government and people of India, by raising up enlightened and loyal youths, trained in sound moral principles, and if not Christian in profession, largely imbued with Christian truth and respect for Christian character, as exemplified by, and admired in, their Christian teachers.

For these five-and-twenty years I have watched the operation of that Education Despatch in silence, and have seen it year by year more and more perverted from its original design. The higher education has been fostered and pampered, and the lower education, to a like extent, comparatively neglected. Direct education in Government colleges, instead of being withdrawn, has been largely extended, and aided colleges discouraged and reduced. And of late years I have seen what was formerly cold indifference, on the part of influential Government servants, turned into positive aversion to our best Christian colleges, which are now, in some cases, threatened with extinction.

Not having been engaged in the work, and having never come into conflict with either system, and these last twenty years being a minister at home, and equally independent of all parties, I hope to deal with the question, as far as possible, free from prejudice or passion.

If prejudice were to sway my judgment, it would be in favour of a bold recognition of religion by the Government, and the public teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges on a grand national system of education. It is with reluctance and pain that I am driven to the conclusion, that such a system is not suited to the present condition of India, and the circumstances of the case.

Every careful reader of the following pages, will see that it is not the Government, either at home or in India, with which I find fault, and the question is happily quite free from any political or party bearing. Abundant proof is given that Government has never intentionally or formally departed from the original intention of the Despatch of 1854. The Government of the late Lord Derby ratified the Act of their predecessors in office in the important Despatch of 1859, issued after the suppression of the mutiny of 1857, and the present Governor-General, Lord Lytton, as will be seen from a recent speech, is as loyal to the spirit of the Despatch as any who has occupied the viceregal throne.

Any fault I may find with the Government at home, is a lack of watchfulness, in not seeing that their intention was carried out, and any complaint against the Government in India, is, that it has allowed the management of this department of its work to fall into the wrong hands; the hands of those personally engaged in tuition, who from their profession and circumstances are, however good their intentions, incapable of understanding the wants of the country, or the defect of their own systems. In a letter lately received from one of the most eminent Christian educators in India, he says of his own "Province": "Our Government cannot be called hostile to us; but they are supremely indifferent to the whole question, and just throw the reins on the Director's neck."

It is in no spirit of hostility to Government that I take up my pen, but with a desire to lay facts before our rulers, and to assist in forming a sound public opinion to support them in doing what will be a difficult and in some respects a painful duty.

I have cause for satisfaction with the impression produced on many, by the first issue of this pamphlet. None of those who denied the accuracy of my interpretation of the Education Despatch in former brief publications, have questioned the thoroughness of the proofs in this more complete form. But, that there might be no possibility of doubt on this vital point, I resolved to add to the cogency of logical demonstration, the additional weight of authoritative testimony.

The highest authority I could consult was the author of the Despatch of 1854, Sir Charles Wood, then President of "the Board of Control," and afterwards H.M. Secretary of State for India, and now as Viscount Halifax ably taking his part in the House of Lords, especially in questions of Indian policy. On forwarding a copy of the first edition, with the request that his Lordship would favour me with his candid opinion as to the construction I had put on his Education Despatch, I had the satisfaction of receiving the following reply :—

"HICKLETON, DONCASTER,
"5th July, 1879.

"SIR,—I only reached home two or three days ago, and I have lost no time in reading your pamphlet on Education in India.

"I have read it with the greatest interest. You give a most accurate account of the intention and purport of the Despatch of 1854. The subject was one of great importance, and great care was taken in framing the Despatch.

"I have never seen any reason to doubt the wisdom of the course which was then taken. The views expressed in it were well received by all who took an interest in Indian education, and I have good reason to be grateful to many of the best Indians for the manner in which they have spoken of it.

“The great object was to promote the *general* education of the *people* of India, and to leave the higher and richer portion of the population to provide *mainly* for their own education. It was the grant-in-aid system, applied in India to schools of all religions, so far as the mass of the people were concerned, as applied in this country to Church and Dissenting schools. The upper classes were to contribute largely to their own education as they practically do at the English Universities. All this, of course, *mutatis mutandis*: in a country so unlike England as India.

“I am very sorry to see from your pamphlet how far this principle has been departed from, and how large a portion of the grants devoted to educational purposes in India is applied to the higher branches.

“This is entirely contrary to the intention of the Despatch of 1854, which has been followed up since, and is the recognised policy of the Home Government of India, and is in my opinion quite wrong.—I remain, your obd. servt.,

“HALIFAX.

“The Rev. J. JOHNSTON.”

THE EARL OF DERBY.

The present Earl of Derby, who, when Lord Stanley, succeeded Sir Charles Wood as Secretary of State for India under the ministry of his noble father, in the Despatch of 1859 says in reference to that of 1854, “Her Majesty’s Government would be very reluctant to disturb existing rules by any change of system which might give occasion to misapprehension ;” and regarding the disputed point—the withdrawal of Government from direct education—he is most explicit. In paragraph 46 he says, “It being hoped THAT PRIVATE SCHOOLS AIDED BY GOVERNMENT WOULD EVENTUALLY TAKE THE PLACE *universally* OF THE SEVERAL CLASSES OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.”

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Judging from the despatches which I find in Government returns, no man took such a watchful and intelligent interest in the question of education in India as His Grace the Duke of Argyll while he held the office of H.M. Secretary for India from 1868-74.

Along with the first issue of the following pamphlet, I sent a copy of Lord Halifax's letter, with the request that his Grace would say whether his views of the Despatch of 1854 were substantially the same as those of his Lordship. To explain the reference in the reply to education by missionaries, I should mention that I had expressed my fear lest missionaries should be compelled to relinquish the higher teaching, owing to the rules laid down for aided schools and colleges not being carried out according to the letter and spirit of the Despatch.

The following is the brief but important answer with which I am favoured, written during a short interval of well-earned rest :—

“ ‘ COLUMBA ’ YACHT,
“ OBAN, 25th August, 1879.

“ REV. SIR,—I have been yachting, and unable sooner to reply to your letter of the 14th.

“ I have not seen the pamphlet which it refers to. But I may say at once, that Lord Halifax's letter, of which you enclose a copy, represents the general view which I am disposed to take of the important subject you refer to.

“ When I return home I hope to be able to read the pamphlet.

“ I should be very sorry to hear that the missionaries had to give up their efforts for the education of India, unless it can be shown that a better substitute has been provided.—
Your obedient servant,

“ ARGYLL.”

OPINION OF LORD LYTTON, GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF INDIA.

In a recent speech addressed to the University and Government College of the Punjab, His Excellency is reported to have advocated the withdrawal of direct Government education in the higher departments, in language more clear and forcible than I have employed. His words are—

“There are still a great many learned, philanthropic, and enthusiastic persons who held, and hold, that it is the duty of the British Government in India to cover this country with educational hot-beds and forcing-houses, and provide a permanent artificial supply of high-class, and, I may say, high-pressure, education, quite regardless of the existence or non-existence of any natural demand for it. I confess that I could never share that opinion, and therefore *I am thankful that the rule was then at least laid down, that Government colleges and schools in India should be regarded, not as permanent institutions, but simply as initiatory stimulant to the natural growth of that popular demand for education, which, when sufficiently developed, is sure to find its natural supply in flourishing private institutions.*”

VIEWS OF THE COMMISSIONER OF HYDERABAD
ASSIGNED DISTRICTS.

To show that the highest representatives of Government are still sound in their views, and desire to see the Despatch faithfully carried out, I might quote from many official judgments which have been passed during these many years. I shall give one so clearly expressing my own views, that I could wish for nothing more than to see it enforced. But, unhappily, the same views have been expressed a hun-

dred times by Governors and Commissioners, and have produced no results beyond an annual letter or two on either side, and a return to the *status quo*. Large official bodies are not easily moved from the ruts deeply worn by professional habits and vested interests.

In reviewing the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the Province, he says :—

“It is an easy thing to open schools with Government funds; the difficult thing is to induce the people to start and support their own schools.

“Hitherto we have been almost too well off (in official revenues). The desire for education is undoubtedly spreading. Petitions for new schools are, the Director writes, ‘flung into my tonga,’ and can now be gratified only by making the people pay a part of the cost of what they want. . . .

“What I would urge is that, in the *interest of education*, the Director is bound to do something to increase the number of aided schools, *and to show that he looks forward to the day when the functions of his office will be confined to two, viz., inspection and training of teachers*. NO YEAR WILL BE REGARDED BY ME AS QUITE A SATISFACTORY YEAR, IN WHICH NO STEP SHALL HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO THIS END.”

THE LATE RIGHT HON. LORD LAWRENCE.

There is one other authority to which I must refer, one whose recent death the nation mourns—the late Lord Lawrence, the “Saviour of our Indian Empire” in the rebellion of 1857—one whose sympathy and encouragement in this movement has sustained me amidst opposition and difficulties. In acknowledging my first brief paper on the duty of Government to withdraw from direct teaching in colleges and higher schools, his Lordship wrote: “I concur generally in

your views, but the matter would require delicate handling, and could only be carried out by very slow degrees."

After naming some distinguished men whose opinion on the subject would be worth having, his Lordship suggested a meeting in London to consult as to what course ought to be taken, and in a subsequent letter expressed his willingness to call such a meeting in his own house, as from the state of his health he was not able to attend public meetings. I grieve to think that no such meeting can now be held under his distinguished presidency, and aided by his extensive knowledge and great sagacity. I fondly hope that amidst his many admirers, some will be ready to assist in carrying out his wishes on this subject.

I give the last note with which I was favoured in regard to a report which I had drawn up on this subject, of which the present pamphlet is only an expansion. There is no recommendation in the latter which was not in the former. It was sent to his Lordship with the request that he would kindly suggest any alteration that he thought needful. The following is his reply :—

" 23 QUEEN'S GATE GARDENS, S.W.,

" 19th February, 1879.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I have read over the proof copy of the proposed report of the Free Church on Higher Education among the natives in India. I do not feel disposed to suggest any alterations in it. In its general scope and object I agree; but I think that any change such as is suggested in reducing the expenditure of the Government on Higher Education, should only be gradually and cautiously carried out, or else it would raise a cry which might do harm. I think the best plan would be for some time longer to appeal to the public opinion in England and India, in the way

this report is calculated to do. . . . These appear to be the views of those I have consulted, in which I concur.—
Yours faithfully,

“LAWRENCE.

“Rev. JAMES JOHNSTON, &c.”

THE TIME FOR ACTION IN THIS COUNTRY.

That the present is the proper time for taking up this question, is now admitted by those who have seriously given their minds to the consideration of it. If not prosecuted with energy now, it must be abandoned for ever. Matters cannot continue as they are. Christian educators in India had done their best and failed to induce Government there to carry out the principles of the Despatch of 1854, and now appeal to friends at home to approach Government. Private individuals, like myself and others, had begun to call attention to the subject last year, and public bodies have taken it up. The Church Missionary Society, which has done so much for education in India, addressed a circular to all similar societies in this country in the month of January last, in which they say :—

“The Committee of the Church Missionary Society feel that the time has come when a strong representation should be made to the Home Government on this subject, which is of so momentous concern to our fellow-subjects in India. In common with other Missionary Societies, they heartily welcome the Despatch of 1854. . . . They now, however, see the principle of the Despatch to a great extent reversed ; the grant-in-aid system discouraged rather than fostered ; the chief efforts of Government expended in providing education for those who could provide it for themselves, or for whom it could be otherwise provided ; the primary education of the masses left to a large extent untouched ; and the weight of the authority of Government given meanwhile

to a view of education which is sure in time to produce results disastrous to the moral and social wellbeing of the country."

It has been demonstrated in the following pages, and established by clear and emphatic testimony that the design of the Despatch of 1854 was to extend *general* education to the *people* of India, and to leave the higher education to be provided, with partial aid from Government, at the expense of the richer classes who desired it, and by the benevolent associations of natives and foreigners interested in the welfare of the youth of India—of these happily there are many. We are therefore fully justified in demanding that a large proportion of Government grants be devoted to the education of the poor.

By the present working of the Act, this reasonable and generous policy is reversed. Upwards of £186,000 is expended on the higher education of a few in Government schools, and only £86,000 on the poor in the whole of India, with the addition of a small sum given in the form of grants-in-aid to native and mission schools.

It will also be seen that we are fully justified in demanding that the economical system of grants-in-aid, as provided for in the Despatch, should be extended, and the costly Government colleges be gradually withdrawn. It is utterly inexcusable that the sum of £92,000 should be spent on educating 3300 young men in Government colleges, when, as we show, half that number are now educated in aided colleges at the small cost to Government of about £8000.

In the Government colleges each student costs the Imperial Treasury, on an average, £28 a-year. Those educated in aided colleges only cost the Government a

little over £5 per annum. And they could educate twice, or even three times the number they now teach, at a very trifling cost to the institutions, and without any additional charge to the Government.

When I call attention to the fact, that education in Government colleges leads to irreligion, discontent, and disloyalty, let it be distinctly understood that I neither lay the entire blame on Government colleges for the effects produced, nor do I exempt other colleges from producing, in many cases, like results. I know that light in its purest form cannot be shed into the dark chambers of heathenism without causing keen mental conflicts, which may be expected to lead to errors on the most vital subjects. We need not wonder at the unhinging of religious beliefs and the adoption of dangerous opinions in morals and politics. What I do object to, is, first, that Government knowingly employ the money of their heathen subjects to uproot, by indirect means, the belief of the youth of India, when there is no necessity for their doing so, and second, when they know that they are robbing the natives of their gods, they offer no substitute to fill the aching void, which they are responsible for having made.

That the conduct of the Government, or rather of those to whom they have "thrown the reins," is unjustifiable in the *present* circumstances of India, is seen in the great and growing demand for Education which is shown in the following pages, enough to ensure the supply of means; and educational agencies are now in the field, which can be easily extended to meet the largest possible demand.

A weak objection is made to the proposal to withdraw the colleges supported by Government, on the ground, that if the natives came forward in any force

to supply their place, the effect would be the same, as the higher education necessarily overturns their heathen systems, based as they are on physical errors.

But surely there is a vast difference between undermining the religious beliefs of the Heathen by Government officials, in Government colleges, paid out of Government taxes derived from a heathen population, and the Heathen upsetting their own creed, in their own colleges, by teachers of their own choice.

As to any discontent or disloyalty, there would be no excuse for either, on the ground of false hopes being excited, as I have shown in the following pages is the case by the present system.

There would still be the mental ferment, and in many cases the moral chaos, which are almost inevitable at a time of transition from a condition of mental and moral darkness and of political tyranny, to a new era of intellectual light and comparative liberty.

These being the effects of light infused voluntarily and naturally by native institutions, and not proceeding from a system introduced by a foreign power professing a hostile creed, would pass away. That wretched state of the human mind—*unbelief*—a state of negation and vacuity, which nature abhors, will not last more than a generation, if left to the voluntary operation of natural laws and the voluntary action of religious truth.

Besides, if the provisions of the Despatch were carried out, we have the best reason to anticipate a rapid increase of the numbers attending the mission colleges, which are every year gaining more and more the confidence of the natives. The positive inculcation of true religion and sound principles of social order by disinterested parties, would lead to the most beneficial results.

THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED BY FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT THE PROVISION OF THE DESPATCH OF 1854, AS ADVOCATED IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

1st. It would free the Government in India from a false position, in tacitly sanctioning the evasion, and in some cases the open violation by their own "Directors of Public Instruction" of the rules laid down for the education of the people, and it would deliver our home Government from the sin and folly of allowing the spread of discontent and disloyalty in its name.

2nd. It would lead to the gradual withdrawal of large sums now needlessly lavished on the higher education of the rich, and their employment in the much needed elementary instruction of the poor.

3rd. It would encourage self-reliance and independence in the upper classes of society, and foster the spirit of beneficence amongst both natives and Europeans in the support of institutions for the higher education — of themselves an important part of a nation's education.

4th. By substituting more largely the grant-in-aid, for *direct* Government instruction, they would greatly increase the means at their disposal for extending education in all its departments, without increasing the demands on the Government exchequer—at present not in a condition to be more largely drawn upon.

5th. It would free the higher Aided-Institutions from that unhealthy competition which now greatly hinders their influence for the moral and religious good of the youth of India, and it would vastly increase the sphere of their usefulness, without increasing the cost of their maintenance. In fact, the higher educa-

tion might ere long become largely self-supporting. Some of the higher schools have now reached that happy consummation.

6th. It would prepare the way for education being put on a better and safer platform.

Without lowering the standard for a few of the *élite* of the youth of India, the course of instruction for the many could be much better adapted to the present state of Indian culture. For the "high pressure" of which Lord Lytton and many of the wisest educators have complained — a system of *STIMULANTS* which Asiatic minds would be better without, and of *cramming* which only clogs the brain with food it cannot assimilate, there might be substituted a system broader and deeper, fitted to give sobriety and solidity to the reasoning powers, to revive and strengthen the moral faculties, and to impart purity and life to the spiritual nature.

For these and other ends which might be secured, I earnestly and reasonably hope for a careful perusal of the following pages.

I am thankful to have the honoured name of the author of the Despatch on which our educational policy was based a quarter of a century ago, on the title-page to secure attention. I trust to the accuracy of my statements, and the soundness of my inferences, to secure the confidence of my readers, and through their influence the honest fulfilment of its wise provisions.

OUR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA.

I PROPOSE to treat briefly of the educational methods by which the Government of our country has sought, to bestow the benefits of a higher civilisation, and the Church of Christ, to confer the still higher blessings of Christianity on our empire in India, to show what the results of those methods have been, and to call attention to certain changes, in the present modes of procedure, which seem essential to the attainment of the important ends desired by the Church and the Government. Object in writing.

The subject is both important and urgent. It bears directly on the highest wellbeing of two hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, it involves the stability of our empire in India, it affects the higher interest of the kingdom of God.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH.

There are three periods of our history in India which may be characterised by their appropriate symbols—the ell-wand, the sword, and the sceptre. The first, or mercantile, which still continues an important feature, had an imperial style and stamp upon it from the first, and the military character of our rule, which has existed side by side with the earliest adventures of commerce, is still painfully prominent in the third period of settled government; still, as we shall show, there is a marked predominance of the three characteristics, trade, conquest, and legislation, at the periods referred to. Three periods.

FIRST PERIOD.—TRADE.

For about a hundred years trade was the special, we may say the exclusive, object of the East India Company.* By

* Appendix A.

the habits of its members, as well as the nature of its constitution, it could not be otherwise. It is expressly laid down in the original charter, that the Company was to consist of merchants only. In the language of the period, "no *gentlemen* were to be members of the Company," and so tenacious were the "Governor and Company" of this feature of their charter, that when the Court party wished to give the command of the first fleet of merchantmen to Sir Edward Michelborne, they refused his services on the ground of his being a *gentleman*, saying they "would sort their business with men of their own quality." Until the end of the seventeenth century gain was the great pursuit. It is not pleasant to look back upon the means employed for the attainment of their sordid ends, and it is not my intention to form an estimate of the character of the men, or the morality of their commercial transactions. The extension of trade, protection of their monopoly, and large profits were the ends they never lost sight of, and which they pursued with a courage, sagacity, and perseverance worthy of the highest aims of moral agents—the pursuit of virtue, the good of men.

SECOND PERIOD.—CONQUEST.

The Company
afflicted with
earth-hunger.

It was not until the year 1689 that the East India Company entered on a new line of policy. In that year we find them openly aspiring to independent authority in the East. In the language of Mr. Mill, "It was then laid down as a determined object of policy that independence was to be established in India, and dominion acquired." At that date they wrote to their agents: "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade." They resolved to be "a nation in India," and held up to their servants the example of the Dutch, who, they say, in sending advices to their governors, "wrote ten paragraphs regarding tribute for one relative to trade."

Trade tribute.

This tribute they evidently looked on not as a revenue for the maintenance of a government ruling for the benefit of the people, but as a new and fruitful source of profit to the Company. Conquest was sought, not from motives of ambition, that "infirmity of noble minds;" but from the

lower and more degrading infirmity—the love of money. It is true that ambitious men often got the power into their own hands, and aimed at conquest more for its own sake than for the material advantages to be gained; and what seemed incidental circumstances often led to wars which were far from profitable to the Company. A mysterious ^{A higher Power} hand seemed to lead them on from one war of defence or ^{leading.} aggression to another, until by the end of another century the trading Company had become masters of an empire more populous than that of Alexander or the Cæsars. Up to this time we can trace no well-defined, far less systematic, plans for the benefit of India. Great generals, able governors, good men did appear and strove hard to introduce beneficent plans for the government of the country or the benefit of portions of it over which they had control; but the system was adverse to any great or beneficent measures, a selfish policy of gain and aggrandisement was the order of the day.

THIRD PERIOD.—LEGISLATION.

It was not until about the beginning of the present century that we find a clear and decisive change in the policy of the Company; and that originated not from within, but from without. It was in the British Parliament that the change was effected.

The charter of the Company had to be renewed every ^{Responsibility} twenty years, and new powers were claimed by Parliament ^{realised.} as the possessions of this imperial trading corporation increased; a sense of responsibility began to manifest itself in the Legislature when the subject was discussed in 1793. It was not, however, until the renewal of the charter in 1813 that the conscience of the country was really aroused to a sense of the solemn obligations which our great power and vast territories in India imposed.

It was to a small body of men that we owe the begin- ^{The "Clapham} ning of a new era in our relations with India—a compact ^{Sect."} phalanx of true patriots, whose greatness arose from the soundness of their moral principles and the purity of their motives, and whose power sprang from the strength of their convictions. The same noble band of men who achieved

the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, were the means of introducing into East India sound principles of government and the blessings of education and religion.

The contest was keen, but what the wisdom and experience of Grant and the eloquence of Wilberforce failed to obtain in 1793 was secured in 1813. The movement in the direction of a higher moral tone in the government of India, and a desire to improve the condition of the people, to liberate them from many of their own barbarous and immoral customs, and to free the government from sinful complicity in the idolatrous practices of the heathen, were greatly aided by the writings of Claudius Buchanan, the son of a Scotch schoolmaster, under the patronage of distinguished Indian statesmen such as Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto. Buchanan was sent out by Mr. Henry Thornton, one of the leaders of the "Clapham men," as a chaplain to the Company.

Charter of
1813.

From the year 1781 the Legislature had been asserting its right to a voice in the government of India, at first through one of the responsible advisers of the Crown, and a few years after by a "Board of Control," and in 1793 several members of the Privy Council were placed upon the "Board" with large powers in all matters of imperial policy.

In 1813 the monopoly of the trade with India was abolished, and that with China followed in 1823. In fact, "the Company" as a body of traders practically ceased to exist. Instead of each of its members and servants, as at first, being of the trading class, none of the employees of the Government are now allowed to engage in trade on their own account, and as one consequence of this change of policy, the character of the service has from that time gone on in the march of improvement, and for many years the public servants of the Crown in India have been as distinguished for honour, justice, and benevolence as they had always been for talent, energy, and courage.

Our responsibility
national
and personal.

It is not, however, my intention to describe the nature of the new charter or the effects of its operation. I refer to the change for two reasons.

First, to call attention to the fact, that *the nation* has been from that time responsible for the government of

India, and, that we are individually responsible for the action of our Government in the East, as well as at home,—that we cannot escape from our obligation for national sins and duties towards our fellow-subjects in India.

We are all the more under moral obligations to our fellow-subjects in India from the fact, that they have no representative voice in the choice of their rulers. They are still, and for many a day must continue to be, governed as a conquered race. Our government is *paternal in form*, we are the more bound to see that it is *paternal in character*. The position of our country as a Christian nation, with the destiny of two hundred millions of an alien race in our hands, is the most solemn ever assigned by an overruling Providence to any nation upon earth. This sense of responsibility is intensified by the consideration, that these millions of our fellow-subjects are nearly all Muhammadan or heathen.

My second reason, for calling attention to the change in the relation of the Legislature to the people of India, is to arrest attention on this other fact, that the most important and beneficent measures for the amelioration and improvement of the condition of the native of India have been carried out by *the Home Government*.

Great and good men in India have originated and planned most valuable measures, but under the old *régime* they were comparatively powerless to carry them into effect. The interests of trade and profits stood in the way, and blinded the eyes of the Directors to any change merely for the benefit of the native. But since the establishment of the "Board of Control" in 1793, and by more recent measures, Parliament have taken the reins into their own hands, there is a desire to rule for the higher and unselfish ends of government. The heart and conscience of the nation have, to a large extent, been reached, and do now sincerely seek the good of India. If the attention of the Government and the sympathy of Parliament can be fixed on any real grievance, there is a fair prospect of its removal; and, convince our rulers at home of any obvious benefit to be sought by legislation, and if practicable, there is hope that it will be conferred. Under the old rule in India a deaf ear was turned to any change

Government
paternal in
form.

Should be
paternal in
fact.

Reform must
come from Par-
liament.

Obstructions
in India.

purely in the interest of the native population; and even now it is difficult to carry out some of the most important measures that have been passed into law, owing to the obstructions put in the way of the Administration in India, by the prejudices of natives and a few of the old residents, and still more by the host of vested interests and selfish claims which spring up like the rank weeds of the tropics, and choke the good seed of benevolent legislation.

Improvement
must originate
at home.

It is in this country that Indian questions must be taken up, and it is by the Houses of Parliament that measures must be carried, and their execution vigilantly watched. With the assistance of the able and experienced members of the Council for India, it can be most advantageously done. In saying this, I make no reflection on the disinterestedness and benevolence of the Government in India. Their position and circumstances are such that they often cannot carry out their best schemes. Like all *local* governing bodies, they are at a disadvantage; on the one hand, subject to the authority of the Home Government, and, on the other, exposed to the obstructions or the influence of interested parties, or the clamour and opposition of the discontented on the spot. We know the difficulties of local governments in our own country, on a small scale, and among an enlightened people. It is far worse there, amidst a host of ignorant and excitable natives, easily led by a handful of clever agitators. It is a real kindness in the Government and Council in this country, to limit and guide the Government and Council in India.

Character of
third period.

This third period is one in which the ages of commercial adventure and military conquest are dominated by a higher and nobler spirit than those which preceded it—a spirit by no means tame or unambitious, but, on the whole, a more peaceable and less aggressive age—an age in which war was more of a necessity for the sake of peace, or what might perhaps be thought a more secure frontier. Commerce may have become less dignified when deprived of the stately crutches of monopoly, and the keen edge of a cutting competition may have lowered her moral tone. The military spirit has not been at rest, and legislative measures have been far from satisfactory. Still, no one can dispassionately read the history of our rule in India, from the beginning

Higher tone.

of the present century, without feeling that he is in the Measures. presence of a high-minded and earnest race of men, seeking to fulfil the grave responsibilities laid upon them by the possession of such an empire. After a careful perusal of many of the voluminous "Blue Books" laid before Parliament from year to year, I can testify to an evident desire to promote the welfare of that great country committed to us by a mysterious Providence.

The careful inquiries made every year into the state of the country, as to its "material and moral progress," and the working of its educational institutions, the minute and elaborate reports with statistical tables, drawn up with great labour, are unmistakable evidences of an earnest solicitude for the general welfare of the country, worthy, in most respects, of a wise and paternal government. Careful oversight.

If from measures we turn to the men who have governed India, we are struck by the large number in every department, civil and military, who distinguished themselves, and shed a lustre on our country by their character and deeds—to name them all would crowd our pages, to name a few would be invidious. The highest moral and intellectual powers of true manhood have been illustrated by them on a stage so conspicuous, and a scale so large, that they have not only benefited vast multitudes by their noble deeds, but have fired the imagination and roused the emulation of the youth of our country. Our rule in India has enlarged the views and stimulated the virtues of our rulers and our people. Character of public men.

The one grand error which has vitiated almost all our relations to the people of India, and to which my subject requires that I call attention, is our neglecting to acknowledge God in the government of that country—worse than neglect, our deliberate and persistent determination not to honour the God of heaven in our official acts, not even in the education of the people. A fundamental error.

I frankly admit the difficulty of the position. It would have required great faith as well as great courage, in the little band of adventurers who first laid the foundation of our empire—a mere handful in the presence of an overwhelming host of fanatical idolaters, or still more fanatical

Muhammadans—to proclaim their determination to rule in the name of the one God of the Christian, and to regulate their government by the principles of His sacred Book. Though I am convinced, that even then, their character would have been more respected, and their rule more trusted by the heathen, had they frankly declared their faith and principles. I also admit that when our Home Government took the direct responsibility for the government of India into their own hands, they were hampered by the legacy of that rule, and the practice and precedent of so many years' standing.

Difficulty
admitted.

An oppor-
tunity missed.

The revolt of 1857, which cancelled unrighteous obligations, abolished dual government, and led to direct imperial rule, was a grand opportunity for a reversal of the vicious policy of their predecessors, while the open proclamation of its continuance, turned, that which had been formerly the offence of individuals, or the errors of a Company, into a national sin, and an imperial injury to India.*

A Government surrounded by and ruling over a vast population, which had been accustomed to perform every act, whether good or bad, private or public, in the name of a God, was placed in a false and perilous position by its neutrality. The Hindu invoked his god at all times, and in everything he did; and his rulers, whether native or foreign, heathen or Muhammadan, ruled in the name of their god. The native could not understand any other basis or authority for government than the Divine. To assert authority on the ground of mere force or military superiority was a deeper degradation to him. With his primitive notions, he would have preferred to be ruled by a people whose God had given them power to subdue them; and if the government exercised in His name, had been from the first wise and tolerant and just, we would have gained his obedience and respect, if not his affection and confidence.

Not a practical
question at
present.

But this, I fear, is not now a practical question. It is vain to hope for any radical and beneficial change in present circumstances. It would now excite a not unreasonable suspicion to introduce a change, without some adequate and obvious grounds for an alteration of policy. Circum-

* See Appendix B.

stances may arise to justify such a step, but as I cannot see how they can arise, except through another revolt, or some justification of a great display of our power, and a call for a fresh proclamation of our authority, I dare neither desire nor advocate such a change. I could not avoid asserting the principle, both because it is sound in policy, and because of its bearing on the question of education.

The want of a Divine authority, and a sacred rule of action to appeal to, became painfully manifest when Government, under a sense of its responsibility, took steps to elevate the moral as well as the intellectual condition of the people. This came out in the despatches of the earlier half of the present century.

Want of a
Divine authority,
rule, and
motive.

We have an illustration of this want of an adequate rule and motive in a despatch of the Court of Directors of 1827. They dwelt "on the importance of raising up educated natives of high moral character for the discharge of public duties." They say: "To this, the last and highest object of education, we expect that a large share of your attention will be applied. We desire that the discipline of these [educational] institutions may be mainly directed towards raising among the students that rational self-esteem which is the best security against degrading sins; and we particularly direct that the greatest pains may be taken to create habits of veracity and fidelity, by inspiring the youth with a due sense of their importance, and by distinguishing, with the approbation of Government or its discontinuance, those who do, or do not, possess these qualifications."

Now, nothing could be better than the *aim* of this despatch and the *intentions* of the Directors. To elevate the moral character, to inculcate veracity and fidelity, to bestow rewards on the upright, and withdraw them from the dishonest, are most important. We applaud the aims and honour the Directors for their good intentions. But mark the utter inadequacy of means to the end.

There is no moral standard to appeal to, no Divine authority to overawe or encourage, no future rewards beyond the temporary salaries of the inferior offices in the Company's service. They cannot quote the purer portions of the Shastras, the better portions of the Koran, nor the sacred

words of Scripture—that would be teaching religion. They dare not appeal to the authority of the many gods of heathenism, the one God of Islam, nor the Triune God of Christianity—that would be theology. Their system shuts them out from an appeal to the rewards and punishments of a future state. The transmigrations of the Hindu, the paradise of the Muhammadan, and the heaven of the Christian are all excluded as beyond the prescribed region of the *secular* instruction to which they have limited the entire circle of knowledge.

Poor substitutes.

The only standard to which they can direct the youth of India is a “RATIONAL SELF-ESTEEM,” which they declare is “the *best security against degrading vices*.” The only *motives* to virtuous action are hope of the rewards of Government service, and the fear of their withdrawal. In other words, *self-esteem* is made to take the place of conscience. “The Company” takes the place of a personal Divine Providence, and the payment or withdrawal of paltry wages are to be the rewards and punishments of the educated natives of India.

The system a failure.

Is it surprising that such a system of education should fail? That the “rational self-esteem” should in the great majority of cases develop itself in the form of intolerable self-conceit; and that “John Coompany,” as this new divinity was irreverently called by the precocious youths who had been emancipated from all faith in the more formidable gods of their fathers, should be regarded as a usurper or imposter,—his rewards, when bestowed, received without gratitude, and when withheld his authority despised and his government hated?

When such principles are adopted, and such a position assumed, by a company of merchants, however respectable, it excites contempt or ridicule; when accepted by a Christian government it calls forth a deep sense of humiliation and sorrow.

INTRODUCTION AND INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT EDUCATION.

Historical
sketch from
1813.

It is desirable that we briefly sketch the origin, the diffusion, and results of the Government education in India.

In renewing the charter in 1813, Parliament required,

in addition to many material advantages conferred on the natives, and religious privileges given to the Christian Church and to the British residents in India, that the modest sum of £10,000 should be devoted by the Company to the encouragement of education. This sum was expended partly in improving and extending the higher vernacular education of the natives, and still more in encouraging the study of the Eastern classics—Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian—and in the translation of scientific and classic works from the English into the vernacular languages of India. At the commencement of that period the use of English as a medium of education was not thought of.

The origin of the idea of using the English language as a means of educating the youth of India, and introducing them to the rich treasures of the Western literature—Origin of the use of the English language. treasures greater far than the gold and precious stones of India, which for centuries fired the imagination and excited the cupidity of Europe, for some time baffled inquiry. I looked for some great genius as the founder of such a system, and for profound philosophic principles on which its foundation had been laid, but looked in vain. It was not until long after the system had been in practice, and its influence felt, that philosophers discussed it, and Government adopted it.

From missionary notices, it appeared that in 1818 the Serampore Mission established a school for teaching English to the natives of India, without requiring their attendance on religious exercises, and in the same year Dr. Inglis, who was the founder of educational missions, preached a sermon in Edinburgh, in which he urged the adoption of the English language as the means for attracting the Hindus, and bringing them under the influence of the Gospel. On further inquiry, however, it was apparent that while the employment of English as a moral or missionary agency in India was first used or advocated by Marshman and Inglis, the discovery was made, like many great discoveries, by a seeming accident, but what was in reality the carrying out of the simple law of supply and demand. There had long been a felt need for a knowledge of English by the natives, for the sake of employment in English families and warehouses, and

as the prospect of service of a humble kind in Government offices opened up, the demand increased.

Mr. Hare's
school.

It was in this state of matters that a benevolent watch-maker in Calcutta, of the name of Hare, taking pity on the many half-caste children who were growing up in ignorance and depravity, neglected by their unnatural fathers, and cast off by native society, to which their mothers belonged, which had no place for them in its rigid system of caste, opened a free school for their instruction. Mr. Hare at first received only these outcast Eurasian children, but as they formed a connecting link with the Hindus, it led to earnest application for admission on the part of the natives, to which he generously responded. The system spread in Calcutta, and was soon introduced into the other cities where any considerable body of English residents were settled.

A native
scholar's re-
collections.

The origin and progress of the study of the English language is graphically described by one who is himself an illustrious example of what education can do for the Hindu, when the study of literature and science is based on moral principle and Christian truth, resulting in his case, not only in the highest culture, but in Christian character. The Rev. Lal Behari Day, in his "Recollections of Dr. Duff," repeats the old story of the dhobi, or washerman, who was the first to acquire a few English words when washing the linen of a ship's company in 1634, and to teach them to his countrymen. "In 1774," he says, "a stimulus was given to a desire for English amongst respectable Bengalis by the establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, but the only aids to the study were one or two spelling-books or vocabularies of very limited extent." "In course of time," he goes on to say, "some Eurasians in Calcutta lent their services to the cause of native education. They went to the houses of rich Baboos and gave instruction in English. They received pupils into their own houses, which they turned into schools. Under the auspices of these men the curriculum of studies was enlarged. To the 'Spelling Book' and the 'Schoolmaster' were added the 'Tales of a Parrot,' the 'Elements of English Grammar,' and the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments.' The man who could read and understand the last-mentioned book was reckoned in those days a prodigy of learning.

"The year 1817 is a memorable time in the history of English education in Bengal. In that year the Hindu College was established. The honour of originating that institution belongs to David Hare, a watchmaker in Calcutta. The rough plan which he had sketched of the institution fell into the hands of Sir Edward Hyde East, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, who liked the proposal, and took measures for reducing it to practice. This institution, which was at first a school of very humble character, rose into a college chiefly through the exertions of the great Sanscrit scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson, who was Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, appointed in 1823 by Government. The success of the Hindu College induced some native gentlemen to set up private schools, the most eminent of which was the Oriental Seminary. The attainments of the youths attending these schools, but especially the Hindu College, were considerable. They were familiar with the historical works of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon; with the economic works of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham; with the philosophical works of Locke, Reid, and Dugald Stewart; and with the poetry of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Burns, and Scott.

"Such was the state of English education when Duff reached Calcutta in 1830."

The demand for education increased with the openings made for employment in the public works which the Government began in the earlier part of the present century to carry on for the material benefit of the country. And when the Government offices and Civil Service were thrown open, in certain departments, to the natives, the spur of ambition was added to the love of gain, to intensify the already strong desire to acquire English, which was not only the key of knowledge, but the door to wealth and honour in the eyes of the poor and down-trodden races of India.

The arrival of Alexander Duff in Calcutta in the year 1830 formed a new era in education and in missions in India. Though the founder of neither, his methods were as original as they were important. His clear judgment saw the true significance of the state of society in the capital. His intrepid spirit at once entered on an independent line Dr. Duff's influence.

Introduction
of religion.

of action, different from that of his predecessors, and the many good and honoured men who were at work around him. In direct opposition to the letter of his instructions from the committee which sent him out, instead of going as directed to some quiet rural district of the country, or employing the English language as a mere educational process, as had been done by Mr. Hare and the Government, or introducing timidly a little religion at a stated hour when the heathen were at liberty to absent themselves, as was then done, even in missionary institutions, he gave it distinctly to be understood that he was a religious teacher, that his great aim was the conversion of the pupils, and that education, with all its importance, was only a means to a higher end—the formation of the character and the salvation of the soul.

But while education was only a means to an end, he manifested his sense of its importance, and with all his characteristic fervour and indomitable energy, he set himself to adapt a system of instruction so thorough and perfect, that within a few months Duff's school was the wonder and admiration of Calcutta. And, in a short time, so far superior to all competitors, that in spite of the dread of his fervent piety and proselytising zeal, his school was the largest and most popular in the Presidency, and himself the most admired and loved of all the teachers in Calcutta.

English *versus*
vernacular
languages.

In 1833, when Indian affairs came for their periodical consideration before Parliament, the conscience of our country again demanded and obtained great advantages for India, and, amongst others, a great increase of money grants for education, which now began to assume a character of imperial importance. The grant of £10,000 in 1813 was increased tenfold, and great interest was excited in the question as to the best way of imparting to the natives of India the full light of western science and literature. Now burst forth in earnest the smouldering controversy between the advocates of the vernacular and English languages, as the medium of instruction. Into that controversy I cannot now enter. It is deserving of, and will demand, earnest reconsideration on an early day. Without going the length to which the "Orientalists" went, there is an important

principle at the base of the position occupied by such men as James and Thoby Princep, Shakespeare, and others, which must assert itself sooner or later. The importance of English cannot be over-estimated, if it be kept in its proper place, and within due limits. These have been of late overstepped, and there are symptoms of a natural reaction, which will require to be watched lest it be carried too far in the opposite direction.

It is, however, with facts, not principles, we have now to do. The battle between the advocates of the Oriental and English languages was carried on both within and outside the Council Chamber. In this contest the eloquence, and still more, the practical work of Dr. Duff were of great service; but the tide was not turned until the arrival of a powerful ally in the person of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

There seemed a providence in the way Mr. Macaulay had been raised up for his work in India. The son of as pure and devoted a Christian patriot as ever toiled for the poor and oppressed of our race, and trained under the influence of the "Clapham Sect," of which his father, Zachary,* was the hidden spring, Mr. Macaulay was prepared to take an enlightened and generous view of any question affecting the interests of the natives.

The "minute" drawn up by him in 1835, now an English classic rather than an official paper, put an end to controversy, and introduced a new policy. From that date the English language has been the great subject of study in Government schools and colleges, and the medium through which all the higher branches of study are carried on. While the native classic and vernacular languages are taught, not only English literature and history, but all the sciences, and even mathematics, in which the Hindus had long excelled, are taught by English teachers in the English tongue. For twenty years this method went on increasing in efficiency and extent, and so popular is it with the natives that they required to be urged to study their own vernaculars, and it needs a bribe to get them to attend the old endowed classes for Sanscrit, Arabic, or Persian.

* See Appendix C, on Zachary Macaulay.

DESPATCH OF 1854.

Importance of
Parliamentary
discussion of
Indian ques-
tions.

We are now arrived at the most important period of our educational policy in India, and this was another proof of the importance of having the affairs of that country brought before Parliament in such a form as to fix on our Eastern empire that earnest attention which calls into lively exercise the intelligence and conscience of the nation. Now that the necessity for a renewal of the charter every twenty years no longer exists, it is almost impossible to get the House of Commons to listen to a debate on the most important questions affecting the welfare of the two hundred millions of our Eastern empire. Nothing less than a war which demands millions of our gold to carry it on, or a famine, by which millions of lives are carried off, will secure a hearing, and these are times which call for special shifts and temporary expedients, not for large and comprehensive measures.

The periodic revisions of the charter, especially since the end of last century, were in reality eras in the history of our rule in India. That for 1793 sanctioned, besides material benefits, important religious advantages. These were much extended in 1813, when the first grant for education was made. In 1833 this grant was raised tenfold; and in 1853 a principle was laid down which extended it indefinitely, and in actual outlay has raised it seven or eight fold. Had the whole question been raised in a similar way in 1873, we doubt not the results would have been of equal importance and advantage to that country.

Leading
features of
despatch.

To extend the
sphere of
education.

I give in the Appendix a summary of the famous despatch of 1854, issued for the Government by Sir Charles Wood (Viscount Halifax),* and shall now call attention to some of its more important features. The first is one which evidently formed a main ground for the new legislation—viz., TO ENLARGE THE *circle* OF STUDY BY INTRODUCING A GREATER NUMBER OF USEFUL SUBJECTS INTO THE HIGHER DEPARTMENTS, AND TO EXTEND THE *sphere* OF EDUCATION SO AS TO REACH THE LOWER CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

The despatch calls attention to the fact, that up to that time the aim seemed to have been to educate a few to a very

* See Appendix D.

high pitch of excellence, to the neglect of the general education of the people. After referring to the importance of the subject, and the advantages to be gained, section six runs thus :—

Par. 6. "Aided, therefore, by ample experience of the past, and the most competent advice for the future, we are now in a position to decide upon the mode in which *the assistance of Government should be offered* TO THE MORE EXTENDED AND SYSTEMATIC PROMOTION OF GENERAL EDUCATION in India, and on the measures which should at once be adopted to that end."

So that the extension of general education was the special aim of Government in this despatch which introduced the new policy.

This view is confirmed by the tenth paragraph, which is as follows :—

Par. 10. "We have also received *most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science*, which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India. But this success has been confined to *but a small number of persons*; AND WE ARE DESIROUS OF EXTENDING FAR MORE WIDELY THE MEANS OF ACQUIRING GENERAL EUROPEAN KNOWLEDGE, OF A LESS HIGH ORDER, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life. To attain this end it is necessary, for the reasons which we have given above, that they should be made familiar with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which knowledge is to be imparted to them; and to extend the means of imparting this knowledge must be the object of any general system of education."

To remove any doubt as to this being the aim of the Home Government, I quote the following from the thirty-ninth paragraph :—

Par. 39. "... The wise abandonment of the early views with regard to native education, which erroneously pointed to the classical languages of the East as the *media* for imparting European knowledge, together with the small amount of pecuniary aid which in the then financial condition of India was at your command, *has led, we think, to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Govern-*

ment towards providing the means of acquiring A VERY HIGH DEGREE OF EDUCATION for a small number of natives of India, drawn for the most part from what we should here call the higher classes."

Paragraph fifty-two shows that the extension of the higher education in future is to be carried out, not by increasing the number of Government colleges, but by the system of grants-in-aid now for the first time introduced.

Colleges aided
by grants to
supersede
Government
colleges.

Par. 52. "We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combinations for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the wellbeing of a nation."

To show that the Government intended to encourage missionary colleges and schools as well as those supported by natives and resident Europeans, the following tribute is paid to their labours in the past :—

Par. 50. "At the same time, in so far as the noble exertions of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilised races, . . . have been accompanied, in their educational establishments, by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote."

In confirmation of our interpretation of the intention of Government, we quote the following from paragraph eighty-six :—

Par. 86. ". . . We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grants-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of a superior order; and we hope that before long sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes, *independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed as has been already the case in Burdwan in consequence of the enlightened conduct of the Raja of Burdwan, or they may be transferred to local management.*"

This shows that the Home Government not only looked to the system of grants-in-aid as a means of saving the Indian Government from spending more on the extension of the higher education than they had been expending up to that time, but that it would lead to the *lessening of that expense by the withdrawal of some of the colleges then in existence.*

That this is the right interpretation of the despatch is placed beyond a doubt by the paragraphs sixty-one and sixty-two, which we must quote in full. We do not even take the liberty of altering the type as we have done in some other quotations :—

Par. 61. "We desire to see local management under Government inspection, and assisted by grants-in-aid, taken advantage of where-
 ever it is possible to do so, and that no Government colleges or schools shall be founded for the future in any district where a sufficient number of institutions exist capable, with assistance from the State, of supplying the local demand for education. But in order fully to carry out the views we have expressed with regard to the adequate provision of schools throughout the country, it will probably be necessary for some years to supply the wants of particular parts of India by the establishment, temporary support, and management of places of education of every class, in districts where there is little or no prospect of adequate local efforts being made for this purpose, but where, nevertheless, they are urgently required." Local effort with grants-in-aid desired.

Mark the explicit expression of the desire for local voluntary effort, and the caution with which any extension of higher instruction is allowed. It will only "probably" be required in any case, and it is only when "urgently required" that it is to be allowed, and even in such an extreme case it is only to be "temporary support" that is to be given.

Par. 62. "We would look forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by Government, may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the State; but it is far from our wish to check the spread of edu-

cation in the slightest degree, by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay, and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities, while keeping this object steadily in view, to act with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India."

This needs no comment. I would only ask a second perusal of the first half of this paragraph.

The aim, then, is, while keeping up the standard for a few, to "*extend far more widely the means of acquiring a general European knowledge OF A LESS HIGH ORDER,*" but practically useful in every-day life.

Professional
or technical
instruction.

By way of enlarging the *circle* of study, it is proposed to introduce technical or professional schools and colleges for the study of medicine, law, engineering, industry and design, and agriculture; and by way of extending the *sphere*, arrangements are made for establishing normal schools for the educating and training of native teachers for elementary and middle schools. In fact, the spirit of the despatch breathes a generous desire to extend the benefits of a useful education to the whole country, instead of limiting it to a favoured few in the large cities, as had been done previously. In paragraph forty, after having called attention to the too exclusive regard hitherto paid to the education of a few of the higher class, they justly say :—

"The higher classes are both able and willing, in many cases, to bear a considerable part, at least, of the cost of their education."

General colleges—two
classes.

The establishment of *general colleges* was no part of the scheme of the despatch. These were in existence before, and were of two kinds; first, "Government colleges;" and by that must be understood something entirely unlike anything known in this country. They are built with Government money, supported by Government funds, the professors are appointed by Government, and all the arrangements are under Government authority. The pupils pay a fee of from ten to twelve rupees a-month, which goes but a little way towards the expenses of institutions which are carried on in an imperial style, and at great expense.

The other colleges are supported by endowments or

voluntary subscriptions, from every class and denomination in the country, native and foreign, heathen, Christian, and secularist. These voluntary or private colleges were in existence before those of the Government, but received, with a few exceptions, no Government assistance or recognition, until after the new era introduced by the despatch of 1854. One of the benefits conferred by it was the encouragement and assistance given to voluntary effort of every kind. "Grants-in-aid" were an essential feature of the despatch. They were not only given—the principle is laid down again and again that it was the aim of Government to foster liberality on the part of individuals and societies, and to encourage the spirit of independence and self-reliance in the natives, as of itself an important part of education. Not only so, but they declare repeatedly that it shall be a part of their plan to withdraw from the field as soon as adequate agencies can be raised up for carrying on the higher education, and to devote the money so saved to the extension of education in the rural districts, and amongst the poorer classes.

UNIVERSITIES ESTABLISHED FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF
PRIVATE COLLEGES, SUPPORTED BY LOCAL AND MIS-
SIONARY RESOURCES AND "GRANTS-IN-AID."

The establishment of the universities had a direct bearing on this part of their scheme, and was designed to encourage *independent effort*, and to prepare the way for Government withdrawing from the costly work of direct education. In paragraph forty they say:—

The universities examining not teaching bodies.

Par. 40. "We have, by the establishment and support of these colleges, pointed out the manner in which a liberal education is to be obtained, and assisted them to a very considerable extent from the public funds. In addition to this we are now prepared to give, by sanctioning the establishment of universities, full development to the highest course of education to which the natives of India or of any other country can aspire; and besides, by the division of university degrees and distinctions into other branches, the exertions of highly-educated men will be directed to the studies which are necessary to success in the various active professions of

life. *We shall, therefore, have done as much as Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes in India.*"

That this was their design is made clear by the following "Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department," passed on the 29th July, 1869, in which, amongst other formal resolutions, they declared that, "Already the Government has gone far beyond the intentions of the despatch of 1854, which declared THAT THE PROVISION OF UNIVERSITIES, *as the examining bodies for higher education*, WAS ALL THAT THEN REMAINED FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DO." *

This feature of the Government plan of 1854 has been too much overlooked by the Executive in India, and is practically ignored by the officials of the universities and colleges. But here is the principle clearly established in 1854 and acknowledged in 1869—that *universities were set up for the encouragement of private and aided colleges, and that it was the design that Government colleges should eventually give place to these.*

THE HOME GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER CHANGED ITS POLICY SINCE 1854.

Lest any should say that our Government has altered its policy of limiting *direct* teaching of the higher classes at its own expense, and directing its chief effort to extending education downwards to the more needy, where stimulus and aid were more required, let me call attention to the following official utterances, extending over many years, and which show that the policy is unchanged.

Despatch of
1863.

In 1863, the Home Government thus expressed itself:—

"It was one great object proposed in the despatch of the 19th July, 1854, to provide for the extension to the general population of those means of obtaining an education suitable to their station in life, which had hitherto been too exclusively confined to the higher classes; and it is abundantly clear, from Lord Stanley's despatch of 7th April, 1859, that Her Majesty's Government entertained at that time the same sentiments which had been

Stanley's
despatch of
1859.

* Blue Book, p. 468.

expressed by the home authorities in 1854. . . . But I think it necessary to declare that *Her Majesty's Government have no intention of sanctioning a departure from the principles already deliberately laid down*, and that, while they desire that the means of obtaining an education calculated to fit them for their higher position and responsibility should be offered to the upper classes of society in India, they deem it equally incumbent on the Government to take, at the same time, all suitable measures for extending the benefits of education to those classes of the community 'who,' as observed in the despatch of July, 1854, 'are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts.' *

In 1864, Sir Charles Wood wrote :—

Sir C. Wood
in 1864.

"Those principles are that, as far as possible, the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and *that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.*"

The Duke of Argyll writes, May, 1871, to the Viceroy :—

Duke of Argyll,
1871.

Par. 5. "I should be understood as approving generally of the main principle which runs through your despatch, that the Government expenditure should, as far as possible, be reduced with reference to the education of those who are well able to pay for themselves, and should be mainly directed to the provision of an elementary education for the masses of the people."

Par. 9. "If once we can instil into the real upper classes of India, that one of the main duties of society is to provide for the sound primary instruction of the humbler classes, we shall lay the real foundation for that general system of education which it is the desire of your Excellency's Government to establish."

Again, on 4th June, 1873, the Duke of Argyll writes to 1873. the Viceroy :—

Par. 9. "In conclusion, I must express my concurrence with your Excellency in considering that the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir George Campbell) has not departed from the broad line of educational policy which has been laid down by Her Majesty's Government during a long series of years, and in cordially approving the steps his Honour has taken to give a more practical tone to education in Bengal. The advance which has been made in the

* Blue Book, 1870, p. 11.

encouragement of the primary instruction of the people is also a subject of congratulation."

Sir G. Campbell, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1872. writes to the Director of Public Instruction, 1872 :—

"It is not the policy of the Government to discourage English or high education, but it is its policy not to devote an entirely disproportionate amount of the funds at the disposal of the Local Government to the education of a very limited number of persons, to the comparative exclusion of the much greater number who have equal claims on the State."

Government colleges increased.

But while these have been the plans of the Home Government, what has been the practice in India? Instead of withdrawing the Government colleges, they have doubled the number, and multiplied the cost. Instead of encouraging local effort, they have made the maintenance of colleges by missionary societies almost impossible, and what is, if possible, more to be deplored, they have pauperised the richer classes of the natives by leading them to depend on Government doing almost everything for them. I admit the difficulty of withdrawing from these Government colleges when the natives have got to value and use them. But this difficulty should have induced caution in establishing new ones, all the more that Government never meant the number to be increased but rather diminished.

The principle ought to have been laid down that a college could only be set up in a new locality where a stimulus to the higher education was required, by giving one up where it was no longer needed. Instead of this, what do we find? In 1854 there were only fourteen general colleges supported by the Government, as I find from the Blue Book, and on inquiring at the Indian Office the other day, I am favoured by the following return :—

"In 1876-77 there were—

Government colleges—General	.	.	29
"	"	Professional	. 17
			—
			46"

It may be said with apparent truth that twenty-nine general colleges are quite insufficient for the wants of the

millions of India, and even if we add the seventeen aided colleges, with a total of less than 5000 graduates in all the colleges of India, what are these among so many? Compared with the colleges in European countries, it would be miserably inadequate. But this is an inverted way of looking at the subject. We must consider the state of education in the country, the demand for the higher, and the need for the lower culture. If the natives had developed such a system, and maintained it themselves, no one could find fault; but when the vast proportion of the attention and funds of the Imperial Treasury are devoted to fostering a fictitious culture in the higher, above the wants and habits of the people, it is both unnatural and pernicious. I know the idea prevailed that education would "filter down" from the higher to the lower class. This, as is shown by Mr. Howell, when Under-Secretary, has proved a mere delusion and a snare. It could not but fail, when that higher culture was an exotic, taught in a foreign tongue, and by foreign teachers. There is no analogy between the English language, as taught in India, and the Latin tongue, as used on the revival of learning in Europe; and even it failed to reach the body of the people, although the priesthood read it, and the people heard it in the daily services of the Church for centuries before. So much is the English system unnaturally forced, that the distinctive peculiarities of Cambridge and Oxford can be traced in the universities of Calcutta and Bombay. In the "Return" for 1870, it is said (p. 49)—"There is a difference of kind between those two universities, corresponding to the difference between Cambridge and Oxford. The Calcutta University has been, I believe, chiefly moulded by Cambridge men, and the Bombay University has certainly taken its direction from a preponderance of Oxford men among its founders." Is India generally educated to a position for profiting by such an exotic system of horticulture?

WORK ACTUALLY ACCOMPLISHED IN LOWER DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

I thankfully acknowledge the large amount of good which has been accomplished in the education of the lower classes

The Aided Schools and Colleges, which receive from the Imperial Treasury £133,000.

Educated in 19 General Colleges, . . .	1,414 students.
„ 25 Normal Schools for Males, . . .	1,859 „
„ 13 „ for Females, . . .	463 „
„ 203 Schools of Higher Class, . . .	36,901 pupils.
„ 1,502 „ Middle, . . .	90,000 „
„ 18,388 „ Lower, . . .	479,777 „
„ 1,196 „ for Girls, . . .	42,379 „
„ 1,850 Mixed Schools, . . .	71,000 „
	<hr/>
	723,785

It will be seen that the amount spent on the higher education is out of all proportion to the sum spent on the elementary, where it is far more needed. The sum £186,694 to educate highly 32,792 of the youth of India, the great majority of whom are well able to pay for their own education, while the paltry sum £85,480 is spent on 641,376 of the humbler classes, who can ill afford to pay anything, is out of all proportion.

But there is another feature of this system which brings out its positive injustice. To supplement the small amount spent on elementary instruction, a special tax is imposed for their support, which falls, directly or indirectly, chiefly on the humbler classes, while by far the greater part of the imperial funds, spent so largely on the higher education, is drawn from these same poor and neglected classes.*

Injustice of
the system.

It adds to this injustice that the higher education is fitted and designed to qualify the favoured richer class for lucrative employments, while the elementary gives no such advantage. The imposition of this education-tax accounts for the education of half-a-million of pupils for the sum of £85,000 from the Imperial Exchequer. The tax itself is not unreasonable, but it is hard to make the same class pay for the higher education also.

* It was pointed out long ago by Col. Davidson, that it costs the Government as much to educate one rich Brahmin as to support a village school with eighty pupils. At present the Government spends £27, 9s. on the education of each of the 3331 graduates in their colleges, only a fraction of whom ever take a degree, and on each of 641,000 boys in lower and middle class schools the sum of 2s. 10½d., while 14,000,000 are left uncared for.

Inadequacy
of means to
educate.

To show the inadequacy of the means as yet employed for the education of the country, let me call attention to a few facts taken from the last "Statistical Abstract" laid before Parliament.

In one of the tables is given the number of children now attending colleges and schools of all kinds of which the numbers can be given. It includes not only those attending Government schools, which was 698,377, and aided schools, numbering 820,855, but a very inferior class, which are only "registered," and not worthy of a place in such a list, of these there were 358,710. Taking all, it appears that there is on the average of all India, only one institution for fourteen square miles, and nine pupils for each thousand of the population. Not a tithe of what it ought to be. In our country we expect one in six or one in seven to be at school—*i.e.*, about 160 in the thousand.

I would call special attention to the work requiring to be done in the elementary education of the poor.

Taking the last returns with the latest census I find the state of matters in 1877 stands thus :—

Population of British India,	191,018,412
Taking <i>one</i> in <i>twelve</i> of the population as a fair proportion of those who ought to be attending elementary schools, we have, needing instruction,	15,918,201
Pupils attending Government elementary schools,	550,790
Add number attending aided elementary schools,	479,777
Total Government and aided schools have an attendance of	1,030,567

Number of the
uneducated.

So that after twenty-five years of the operation of this famous and most valuable despatch, there are still MORE THAN FOURTEEN MILLIONS* OF THE CHILDREN OF BRITISH INDIA, OF AGE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, UNPROVIDED FOR BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Let it not be supposed that we say all these millions are untaught. The Hindus were an educated people long before we were.

* This estimate by a missionary seems very low, only one in twelve of the population. In this country about one in six or seven is the ratio for all ages.

When we consider that those who may be attending native schools without superintendence are in the vast majority of instances brought up in an atmosphere morally worse than if they were allowed to run wild in a state of total ignorance, we see the vast work which remains to be done, while the money wrung from the poor ryots is squandered on pet schemes, which are producing, as we shall show, very doubtful results. There are in the returns 16,882 schools, with 332,952 children, called "unaided," but under a very imperfect kind of supervision or registration. We cannot reckon them with the others. Urgency of that need.

The great need of elementary education is well shown in pamphlets by Sir William Hill and Lieut.-Col. Davidson,—the uneducated rural population being exposed to the ruinous exactions of money-lenders, whose cruel bonds and extortionate interest they can neither read nor calculate, in addition to all the common evils of native ignorance.

COMPARISON OF RESULTS IN GOVERNMENT AND AIDED COLLEGES.

But is the large amount expended on the higher education better devoted to the Government colleges than the aided colleges?

We frankly admit that at present the Government colleges generally show better results in the way of intellectual teaching—a greater number of students attaining the higher degrees in art and science than in the aided colleges. This is easily accounted for. The fact of their being Government institutions gives them social and political advantages in the eyes of a people like the Hindus, of which an independent Saxon can form no idea. And when we add the hope of a lucrative appointment, and the honour of Government employment, the wonder is that any colleges can compete with theirs; and yet we have the fact before us that, at the present time, the Free Church College in Madras and the Established Church College in Calcutta are more popular with the natives, and are attended by a larger number of students than those of the Government in these cities. In the Madras returns for 1877 there are 220 students in the Free Church and only 150 in the Government college,

and in the General Assembly College, Calcutta, for the same year the numbers were 317, the largest number in any one college in India.

It is also worthy of remark that whilst the wealthier part of the population, who are able and willing to pay for education, attend in larger numbers the Government colleges, there is very little difference in the caste and social status of those attending the different colleges.

In the Report for 1870 we have the following important Tables, showing the social position of the parents of the pupils attending Government and aided colleges. For Calcutta :—

	SOCIAL POSITION OF THE PARENTS. Percentage on Total of Pupils.					
	Zemindars, Talookdars, and Persons of Independent Income.	Merchants, Bankers, Banians, and Brokers.	Profes- sional Persons.	Govt. Servants and Pen- sioners.	Shop- keepers.	Others.
Govt. Colleges,	30·6	8·6	9·6	31·8	1·3	18·1
Private Colleges,	26·6	14·4	11·2	23·2	1·4	23·2

For Madras it was :—

	SOCIAL POSITION OF PARENTS. Percentage of Students.					
	Zemindars, Talookdars, and Persons of Independent Income.	Merchants, Bankers, Banians, and Brokers.	Profes- sional Persons.	Govt. Servants and Pen- sioners.	Shop- keepers.	Others.
Govt. Colleges,	28·0	9·0	15·4	28·6	1·7	16·0
Private Colleges,	25·0	13·3	10·8	22·3	2·3	26·2

On these Tables the Under-Secretary of Government remarks : “As far, therefore, as this classification can be depended upon, it would appear that there is no great difference in social position between the students attending Government and private colleges. And this is probably the case, but the more wealthy members of each class frequent

the Government colleges, while the poorer students resort to the aided colleges."

This popularity prevails in spite of the attraction of Government patronage and the supposed disadvantage of religious teaching.

Let Government withdraw from the unfair and unhealthy competition in direct education, as in 1854 it promised to do, while maintaining its universities, and soon, under the stimulus of the universities and the grant-in-aid, the natives of India, the European residents, and missionary societies, will keep up an educational system fully equal to the wants of the country, and far better fitted for training the moral and religious, as well as the intellectual, nature of the young; while it would call forth a spirit of liberality which is suppressed, and of independence which is crushed, by the present system. Time to withdraw.

The Government colleges, we may admit, did good at first, in stimulating a desire for higher education, when that was needed. But now that a keen appetite is created and intellectual tastes are so highly cultivated, they may, as these reports to Government show, be advantageously withdrawn. Many of the more intelligent members of the Government, both at home and in India, admit this, and we believe steps would have been taken in this direction long ago, but for the strong prejudices of some influential men of the old school, who still distrust the natives and the missionaries, and what is perhaps more difficult to be got rid of, the strong, vested interests of the large body of professors—men who can by their social position and fluent pen influence society both abroad and at home.

The grant-in-aid system has been called by a high authority, the pivot of the educational system. When there is, as at present, a loud call for retrenchment, and a louder call for the extension of elementary education, the advantages of substituting the grant-in-aid for the Government education is apparent by a reference to the comparative cost of the two systems.

The significance of the tables in the Parliamentary reports cannot be mistaken. They call attention to the fact that for the year 1868 the cost to the Imperial Treasury

for each pupil in the Government College in Calcutta was 255 rupees ; in Patna College, it was as high as 748 rupees ; while in the following aided colleges it was—

London Missionary Society College,	. 109 rupees.
Cathedral College,	. . . 65 „
General Assembly's College,	. . . 43 „
Free Church College,	. . . 31 „

In the Bombay Presidency, 108 who matriculated at the Government colleges cost 493 rupees each for the year, while 23 who matriculated in private colleges cost them nothing.

In the entire Presidency of Bengal, 701 students on the roll of all the Government colleges cost the Imperial Treasury 226 rupees each for eleven months' instruction, while 325 on the roll of aided colleges only cost the Treasury 67 rupees each for the same period.

A comparison
of Government
expenditure
on education
and on other
objects.

If we put down to the spread of general education among the poor a fair proportion of the sum spent on directors and inspectors, and the entire sum expended on normal schools for training teachers; and on schools for the lower and middle class, it cannot amount to more than about £200,000 ; and this is all, with the exception of about £100,000 for grants-in-aid, that is done for carrying out the chief design of the despatch, which was to inaugurate such great things for the education of India.

Take even the entire sum of £730,000 devoted to education, and what is that for such an important work in such a country, and under a paternal Government? Compare it with the immense expenditure from the Imperial Treasury for other objects. From the returns for 1877-78, we find that the ordinary expenditure was £51,430,673, and including that on "Productive Public Works," in which class education might be more accurately put than many of the public works, and working expenses of railways and canals, it was £58,178,563. Of this sum, £15,792,112 was spent on the Army, £2,158,032 on Police, £3,519,668 on ordinary public works, £3,275,821 on law and justice, more than £7,000,000 on the "collection of revenue," and only £730,013 on the entire education of about 200,000,000 of a population, sunk in the grossest ignor-

ance and immorality and superstition; and of that, not more than about £300,000 on the most needy class. Why, the Government spent that same year £443,776 on "stationery and printing."

Since the above was written, I am favoured with a copy of the "General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1877-78," and from it give the following Table. The report is a very able and interesting one, by the Director of Public Instruction, A. W. Croft, Esq., and manifests an enlightened interest in the spread of education among all classes. The methods used for bringing instruction down to the lower classes seem earnest and successful, but obviously need large increased grants of money, and more agents for extending the organisation to the wants of the people. It will be seen that the cost of Government graduates has increased, while that of those in aided colleges is less than formerly.

Official Report
for Bengal,
1878.

Statement of Number of Students attending Government and Aided Colleges in Bengal, the Number of Candidates for First Arts Examination, and the Number passed, with the Cost of each College and each Student to the State.

General Colleges.	Number of Students on Roll.	Received from State Funds.	Each Student cost State.	Number of Candidates for Exam. in Arts.	No. who passed.
Government—		Rupees.	Rupees.		
Presidency College,	329	59,499	212½	73	31
Sanskrit,	36	14,356	495	6	2
Hooghly,	208	32,543	230	49	19
Dacca,	129	22,622	226½	69	14
Krishnagur,	105	18,380	235½	16	3
Berhampore,	39	14,840	479	13	6
Patna,	108	32,381	450	51	2
Cuttack,	39	15,367	854	9	5
Rajshahye,	41	...	...	...	...
Midnapore,	17	544	54	5	1
Chittagong,	15	1888	236	...	...
Rungpore,	16	2073	172	...	...
Total,	1082	214,533	270½	301	94
Aided—					
St. Xavier's,	105	3600	53	12	8
Free Church,	99	5520	75½	33	13
Established Church,	333	4200	24	54	15
Cathedral Mission,	86	5520	76	30	9
Doveton,	18	3000	273	3	1
London Mission,	60	2296	56	20	10
Total,	701	24,136	55	152	56

The Director calls attention to the fact, that "For the first time in its history, or in that of any aided college, the number of students in the General Assembly's Institution exceeds that of the Presidency College."

Economy of
grants-in-aid.

I would add that it is also worthy of remark that while each pupil in the Presidency College costs the Government 212½ rupees, those of the General Assembly's College cost only twenty-four rupees each. While if we take all the Government colleges in Bengal, the cost per student is 270½ rupees, and that of the aided colleges is only fifty-five rupees. With all their disadvantages, it appears that in Bengal they yield 152 candidates for the first Arts examination against 301 from Government colleges, and fifty-six of the former pass for ninety-four of the latter; a strong proof of the economy of the grant-in-aid system, and if the system were more generously and fairly encouraged, it would soon prove its efficiency, and the wisdom of the Home Government in recommending its substitution for direct Government instruction in the higher department of education.

There are no official returns for the other Presidencies, but from authentic sources I am able to state that the number of students attending the Government College in Madras in 1877 was only 150, while the number in the Free Church College was 220, while the cost of the former was four times that of the latter. So that mission colleges are now more popular when fairly tried than those of Government in both these seats of education.

An Under-Sec-
retary's view.

We close this part of our subject in the words of one intimately acquainted with the working of the educational system. Mr. A. P. Howell, formerly Under-Secretary to the Home Department in India, in a report laid before both Houses of Parliament in 1870, calls attention to the 62nd clause of the Education Despatch, and recommends its application (p. 8), and adds (p. 51): "It seems, therefore, quite open to doubt whether the direct patronage of the State flows most in the channel where there is the greatest need for it, and whether the expenditure on the higher Government institutions *might not gradually but largely be withdrawn*, and the funds be utilised in the extension and improvement of the lower institutions." He

then quotes a long passage from the Report of the inspector of the south-west division favourable to the encouragement of voluntary and mission schools. Again and again, in that important document laid before Parliament, with all the sanction and authority of the Council on Education in India, is attention called to the importance of carrying out the recommendation of the 62nd section of the despatch of 1854. In one passage he says: "The obvious inference is that if Government wishes to restrict itself to its proper province, and to promote higher education by the grant-in-aid system, it *must retire from direct competition with it.*"

RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF THE DESPATCH OF 1854.

That the Home Government meant their education scheme to be thoroughly impartial in its treatment of all forms of religion is too obvious to need any demonstration. I am not aware of any one in this country having questioned this feature of the Government policy. It is too ostentatiously proclaimed to be questioned by any one who knows and trusts in the honesty of English statesmen; it is only doubted by suspicious Asiatics, who, the more it is asserted, only doubt it the more.

But wherein does neutrality consist? Does it mean that the Government will not in any way interfere with the religious beliefs of the natives of India, then I unhesitatingly maintain that in the matter of direct teaching in the higher departments, the principle of neutrality is violated in the most practical and important manner. It is true the Government professors do not *directly* attack the heathen systems of religion in class hours, nor do they teach Christianity. But they do what is far worse, they undermine the religion of the Hindus, and offer no substitute in its place. I admit it is not intentional, but is not the less real and effectual. It is impossible to teach European science and literature without destroying belief in the gods and religions of India. I will not waste time in showing how it is that such is the effect. It is well known that their

Neutrality by
system now in
force impos-
sible.

It undermines
native reli-
gions.

Uproots belief. false religions are so interwoven with the most erroneous systems of geography, history, astronomy, and science, that the mere teaching of the truth in these departments of a higher education necessarily destroys religious belief. No man who knows India can doubt this. To say that the effect is the same as the teaching of true science in Christian countries is gross misrepresentation. None but a man who is ignorant of India or a sceptic in religion could assert it.

T.B. Macaulay. But let me call a few out of many witnesses to the fact. So long ago as 1833 Macaulay wrote as follows :—"No Hindu, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity." *

Dr. M. Mitchell. Dr. Murray Mitchell, so long a distinguished missionary and educationist in India, said at a mission conference in Mildmay Hall last year: "In colleges the gulf between Hinduism and European thought yawns wide and fathomless. Hinduism teaches a professedly inspired science which is outrageously absurd. The pupil soon rejects it with contempt, and at the same time necessarily rejects also the authority of the book which inculcates it. There is thus to him no divine revelation; no authoritative declaration of spiritual truth. For an individual or a community to be thus suddenly tossed from superstition into scepticism is surely a transition most perilous and painful. No wonder if the mental balance is destroyed and the moral nature often completely wrecked."

Government appointment of professors. He then speaks of the effect of the character and profession of the teachers in the Government colleges. "In appointing professors, Government seems to have a regard only to intellectual qualifications. In religion, a man may be a Christian, Deist, Atheist, Comtist, or Agnostic; the Government serenely ignores the question both of his creed and character." He admits that there are Christian men among them, but quotes authority for saying that there are also among them distinguished men who have "diffused the principles of Tom Paine over a whole generation of youth."

Rev. W. F. Stevenson. The Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, lately returned from his

* "Life of Lord Macaulay."

mission of inquiry in the East, told the last General Assembly in Ireland that a native who observed to him "those of us who learn English do not believe in idols," expressed the general mind of his class. He adds: "The head of a native college said one day, 'I believe that every one of our students who leaves us, knowing English, has ceased to believe in popular Hinduism.'" How many educated young men believe in the Shāstras? was the question recently addressed to the students in a Calcutta college. Promptly there were two answers—"Not one in a hundred," and "Not one in a thousand," and the rest assented. And the Under-Secretary of Government in India, in a report to the Home Government, puts it in the mildest form when he says: "And what is the product which it costs the State so much to produce? The Bengali undergraduate has had a fair vernacular education, and has gained at least a superficial knowledge of English, but he is possibly, I may say probably, if from a Government school, without any religious belief at all."

We might multiply such evidence, but it is unnecessary.

It is in vain to call such a system neutral, it systematically undermines all religious belief, and leaves the youth of India at the most critical period of their lives in a condition most dangerous and disadvantageous to the formation of moral principles and habits. This not neutrality.

The Under-Secretary in a report to the Indian Government, speaking of the effect of introducing European science, &c., says: "Every day opened to the student a succession of new and strange phenomena in the unsealed realm of history, science, and philosophy. They were suddenly thrown adrift from the mooring and anchorages of old creeds, and tossed upon the wide sea of speculation and extravagance." Testimony of an Under-Secretary of Government.
Unsettles beliefs,

"It was no wonder that moral and social obligations began to share the fate of religious beliefs, and that the whole community was in alarm at the spread of the new views. This was precisely the state of things which Mr. Charles Marsh had so eloquently anticipated during the discussion of the charter in 1813. 'It is one thing,' he said, 'to dispel the charm which binds mankind to established habits and ancient obligations, and another to turn them over to the discipline and the authority of new doctrines. *In that dreadful*

and sense of moral obligation.

interval—that dreary void, when the mind is left to wander and grope its way without the props that have hitherto supported it, or the lights which have guided it—what are the chances that they will discern the beauties or submit to the restraints of the religion you may propose to give them?’ That ‘dreadful interval,’ the Under-Secretary goes on to say, “and ‘that dreary void’ had now arrived, and *it is impossible to say how far native society might not have been disorganised*, HAD NOT THE MISSIONARIES STEPPED IN AND SUPPLIED A NEW DIRECTION TO THE AWAKENING SCEPTICISM AND A FRESH SUBJECT TO ATTRACT THE NEW AROUSED SPIRIT OF SPECULATION.”

His testimony
to missionary
influence.

A most important testimony from a high official of great knowledge and experience reporting to the Government.

Moral and
social prin-
ciples sub-
verted.

In regard to the moral influence of the teaching in the colleges where no religion is taught, it may be admitted that the educated natives, from contact with English professors of high character and position, are influenced by a feeling of honour to pay more regard to truth and honesty than the uneducated. But, on the other hand, it is indisputable that they have acquired not a few new vices or aggravated old ones. They have far less regard to the authority of parents or superiors, and they are more supercilious and contemptuous in the treatment of their more ignorant brethren. The marriage tie is less regarded, and they are more addicted to luxurious habits, and the new vice of drunkenness is making alarming inroads on the physical condition and social habits of the educated youth of India.

Dr. C.
Macnamara.

The Report to Parliament of 1870 seems to us frequently to indicate what it would have been unwise in such a document to express, that the results in this respect are not satisfactory. It is a subject on which we cannot get documentary or official evidence, but, from all we can learn, the following sad picture of society in Bengal could be substantiated by overwhelming moral evidence. It was spoken publicly at the opening of the session of the Medical School of Westminster Hospital last October by Dr. C. Macnamara, and, from his long and extensive practice, to a large extent amongst the highest class of the native, few men have had such opportunities of knowing their habits and sentiments.

He said : " Many natives admit the benefits conferred by our rule, but they deplore the disorganised state of society in Bengal. The old families have almost disappeared, and the sons and husbands of the educated and rising generation are largely addicted to drunkenness and vice of every kind, and the more thoughtful men and the vast majority of women contrast this state of things with times when there was less security to life and property, less law, taxation, and education, but when the greatest slur that could attach itself to a man's name was that of being an undutiful son. Our system of education has broken down all faith in religion, and the outcome of a purely secular training has developed gross materialism and rank socialism, and so the necessity for suppressing the outspoken sentiments of the vernacular press, which, nevertheless, gave utterance to opinions he had heard over and over again for some years past among all classes of natives, and which he dreaded would one day break out into a revolt, in comparison with which the Mutiny was a mere brawl."

Where, then, I ask, is the neutrality of our present method ? But what was the design of the Home Government in the despatch of 1854 ? It aimed at neutrality, as we shall show, in a most enlightened and effective way.

UNIVERSITIES, GRANTS-IN-AID, AND INSPECTION WERE THE
MEANS BY WHICH A NEUTRAL SYSTEM IN THE HIGHER
EDUCATION OF INDIA COULD ALONE BE CARRIED OUT.

I have shown how decidedly the Home Government expressed its desire for the withdrawal of the *direct teaching* in the higher departments, and that the universities were meant to supersede the necessity for it.

I do not assert that it was wholly, or chiefly,—it was, perhaps, not at all on the ground of their not being inconsistent with neutrality that they were to be withdrawn. It would have been questionable policy to have declared that they were practically incompatible with neutrality. But it is a most significant fact, that all the references to neutrality that I can see in the despatch, are in connection with the three new features which it introduced into the education

of India—viz., The “Universities,” “Grants-in-Aid,” and “Inspection.”

Neutrality of
despatch.

To secure impartiality in quotations, I shall give those collected by a strong advocate of the present system. Mr. Cust says in his pamphlet on this subject:—

“I have carefully gone over these famous one hundred paragraphs, though I have often read them before. If there is any one leading characteristic of that charter, it is the desire not to awaken a religious difficulty. Thus:—

“Par. 28. ‘The examination at the University will not include any subject connected with religious belief, and the affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion.’

Refers to con-
ferring univer-
sity degrees on
special subjects

“Par. 32. ‘We shall refuse to sanction any teaching (connected with Hindu and Mohammedan tenets), as directly opposed to the principle of religious neutrality, to which we have always adhered.’

“Par. 34. ‘(The Senate) will include natives of India of all religious persuasions.’

“Par. 53. ‘The system of grants-in-aid will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school.’

“Par. 56. ‘No notice whatsoever to be taken by the Inspector of the religious doctrines, which may be taught in the school.’

“Par. 57. ‘It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality, on which the grants will be awarded.’”

Not carried
out.

If the system thus laid down had been faithfully and impartially carried out there would have been nothing to complain of.

Mr. Robert N. Cust, and Mr. M. Kempson, who have lately written pamphlets in support of the higher education by Government, and in opposition to the recent circular of the Church Missionary Society, and the views I had advocated at the Conference on Missions in October last, both maintain, that the principles of the despatch have been carried out. The former quotes a number of passages from resolutions and declarations by the Government in India. But these gentlemen should distinguish between good *resolutions* and good *deeds*. I never questioned the designs and intentions of the Government, or its members. I have always made

full allowance for the difficulties of their position. I do not even impute motives to the parties most interested in supporting the present system, I give them full credit for thinking the system of which they are the representatives or agents the best that could be carried out. But we cannot blind our eyes to facts, and it is with *facts* that I deal, not *words*. It is very difficult for any class of men to see their own faults, or the faults of their systems, and it is for that reason I urge action from without. Systems dread extinction.

It is hardly to be expected that the system will perform the rite which Japanese officials ironically call the "happy despatch." "Euthanasia," a most sweet word, is not likely to become popular among systems any more than amongst individuals; nor is it desirable. A responsible Government must take the work in hand. Mr. Kempson tells us, without the slightest reference to any evidence, that in regard to my charges against the tendency of the present system, "They have no existence in fact, so far as my experience goes." If Mr. Kempson's experience was limited to the north-west provinces, in which he was "Director of Public Instruction," I can conceive it possible that he may not have seen, in an obvious form, the evils I speak of, for two reasons. First, because these provinces have been only a comparatively short time under the system, which takes time to produce its baneful fruit. In a list of the professed religious beliefs of graduates over all India, I was struck with the fact, that of the number of those who professed themselves of no religious belief, the proportion was far greatest in Bengal, where the system had been longest in force, and it almost vanished as we came to these regions in which it was comparatively new. Mr. Kempson's experience.

Second, the north-west provinces and the Punjab have been highly favoured with commissioners and lieutenant-governors of the very highest wisdom and character, who did much to put education on the best possible basis in their power. Disloyalty and open irreligion and immorality, under such men as Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Lawrence, and Sir William Muir, would have been unnatural and improbable.* Oldest seats of learning the worst results.

* There is a third reason, but as it assumes the form of personality I will not introduce it into my argument. Mr. Kempson seems to form very decided

Grants-in-aid
for all.

Natives could
support
colleges.

Testimony of
witnesses.

Evidence
recent and
remote.

Second misconception. Both Mr. Kempson and Mr. Cust assume, that in advocating the withdrawal of the Government colleges we expect that the grants-in-aid are to go exclusively, or almost exclusively, to mission colleges, and against this their arguments on the ground of neutrality are telling enough. But it is an easy feat to knock down a man of straw of our own setting up. I would at once say that such a procedure would be not only opposed to *neutrality* but to *justice*. The natives of India have a right to be fairly and even liberally dealt with in such a case ; and I fully expect that they would set themselves to establish and maintain colleges and high schools, if they were left to stand alone, instead of being bolstered up by a pauperising system. They have done so before, and would do it again. When the desire for education had not a tithe of the strength it has now, the natives of India made noble contributions for education. Now it is a felt necessity, and there is no fear of the higher education going down. If the universities are kept up, they will maintain the standard in all the higher schools and colleges.

That the natives of India are able, and would, if left to their own resources, maintain the colleges, is asserted in Government reports. Mr. Arthur Howell, than whom no man had better means of knowing, asserts it ; the conference of missionaries at Allahabad expressed the same opinion and in the last "statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India," attention is called to the circumstance that on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, the wealthy natives in several places commemorated the event by raising money for educational purposes. The native gentlemen of Behar alone subscribed the sum of £20,000.

We have had noble examples of liberality among the natives of India in both building and endowing colleges and opinions on very slender data. He had only seen a brief and necessarily an imperfect account of my views in a pamphlet by Mr. Cust, who did not even quote my words ; and yet, with no other means of knowing my character or opinions, he pens and prints the following words : "It need hardly be said that want of sympathy leads to detraction and antagonism." Then follow such expressions as "unfair and mischievous," "imperfect information," "a libel on the people of India," &c. On what ground does Mr. Kempson charge me with "want of sympathy" with the Government, and guilty of "detraction" and "libel" and "mischievous representations" of the people of India ?

schools before Government began to do it for them. We are apt to forget that learning was honoured and maintained in India long before we had emerged from barbarism.

We do not expect them to volunteer to do this ; like most subjects of an absolute government, they prefer to have everything done for them. But if left alone in a firm, cautious, and friendly spirit, they could and would provide it for themselves. Will not volunteer till left alone.

But would this be an advantage in a missionary point of view ? That is not with me the first question. Is it right in itself ? That is what we have to see to ; and if it is right, I am sure it will be best for the righteous cause. Benefit to missions not first question.

Missions have nothing to fear in a fair competition with natives of any class. It is only the unfair competition with a Government, backed by the prestige and pay that makes voluntary efforts by either natives or missions so arduous or impossible. If that competition were withdrawn, we have reason to believe that colleges would soon cease to be a burden on the funds of the Church. They would, with slightly higher fees and a larger attendance, pay their own expenses. The average attendance at aided colleges is only seventy-four ; they could educate three or four times that number without any corresponding addition to their contributions from home. If any should still say that the natives of India could not or would not support colleges for themselves, I would only say, that in that improbable and sad case they would have themselves to blame, and could not charge on Government the fault of aiding either missionary societies or European residents in providing the needed means of education. Fair competition not feared.

It is found in Calcutta, that the high schools are now paying concerns, to use a mercantile phrase, and they are being established as a profitable commercial speculation.

We have another and painful reason for urging the gradual withdrawal of the direct teaching by Government in the higher departments.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS RAISING UP A NUMBER OF DISCONTENTED AND DISLOYAL SUBJECTS.

This is not so much felt in districts in which education is of recent origin and limited in extent to the wants of the

locality. But in the old educational seats, especially in Bengal, this result of the Government system of direct education is painfully and alarmingly felt.

Expectations
raised,

It fosters and gives facilities for getting an education in the language and culture of the ruling power, which is generally interpreted into an intention to employing in lucrative and honourable posts those who have entered, as they think, with their Asiatic notions, into relations with the Government, in which their only sense of gratitude for the benefits of a cheap and liberal education is a "lively anticipation of future favours," and a sense of injustice and a feeling of resentment if they are not conferred. The interpretation put on the despatch of 1854 has added to that native tendency to anticipate Government patronage for the favour they think they confer by attending its colleges. The wording of sec. 72 seems to have been so understood. It runs thus: "We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration, by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and, on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up may afford a great stimulus to education."

They could then say, as they do in sec. 73: "We understand that it is often not so much the want of Government employment, as the want of properly qualified persons to be employed by Government, which is felt at the present time in many parts of India." They express regret that "no more than forty-six persons had been gazetted in Bengal up to 1852, all of whom were students in the Government colleges." Other passages might be quoted to the same effect. These are worthy objects in themselves, but they have engendered unreasonable expectations in the minds of a people like the Hindus.

to be dis-
appointed.

But what is the state of matters now? A supply vastly in excess of the demand, not only from Government offices, but from all sources of employment. In the Report for 1870, the Under-Secretary makes frequent reference to this

fact. The following may be taken as a sample of the views repeatedly expressed or implied in the "Blue Book." Referring to the educated native, he says: "He is precluded by his education from manual labour, and from recruiting that class on whose industry and intelligence the prosperity of the country depends. He finds himself in keenest competition for intellectual employment—for there are thousands like himself—as the market, though ample, has been overstocked, and all the while industrial education has been neglected altogether, and there are millions for whom no kind of instruction has been provided by the Government at all."

This will easily be understood by a reference to the numbers who are prepared for, or who actually pass through the colleges now, as compared with what they were 21 years ago, when the three universities were set up.

In 1857 when the universities were founded, the matriculation examination only is given. In Calcutta, there were 244 candidates, of whom 162 passed. In 1877, there were 2425 candidates, of whom 1355 passed. In Madras, the number for 1857 was 41 candidates, of whom 36 passed; in 1877 there were 2517 candidates, of whom 1250 passed. It will give an idea of the increase of education, when we quote from the "Abstract," laid before Parliament last year, the following figures.

In ten years, from 1868 to 1877, the three universities conferred the following degrees:—

286	received the degree of M.A.
1,652	„ „ B.A.
209	received diplomas in civil engineering.
809	„ „ in medicine.
910	„ „ in law.
4,091	passed the first arts examination.
17,802	„ entrance examination.
Add 5,948 who passed the entrance examination from 1857-1867, and we have 23,740 matriculated within these 21 years.	

The rapid rate of progress may be judged of by taking

the numbers who passed each fifth year during this period.

In 1857, 198 passed the entrance examination in Calcutta and Madras universities; that for Bombay was not then formed.

„ 1862, 522	„	„	„	„
„ 1867, 1123	„	the three universities.		
„ 1872, 1486	„	„	„	„
„ 1877, 2808	„	„	„	„

Well may we ask with the Under-Secretary in the "Return" from which these figures are taken: "Does the system tend to confer those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge?" described in the despatch of 1854.

What becomes
of the edu-
cated?

"What becomes of all these highly-educated young men, whom the university turns out every year? Are they, as in England, absorbed into the channels of every-day life, with a satisfactory or even perceptible result? Are they to be traced, as in England, in a liberal and enlightened native press? Do native gentlemen, like English gentlemen, return to their zemindaries from a university career to spread around them the reflex of the enlightenment they have received themselves? Does the process of highly educating a few and leaving the masses, tend to increase or diminish the gulf between class and class? Are there any indications of a decrease in crime, or of a dawn of intelligence in the agricultural classes? Such questions will occur to any one who sees how the public expenditure on education is annually distributed, and how comparatively few are the recipients of the larger share of the State's bounty."

Native press
controlled.

He professes his inability to answer these questions. It is time they were answered. Recent events have given an unsatisfactory reply; our attempt to control the native press is the most significant answer that Government has yet given. Will that satisfy the nation and the Church?

The above figures give no idea of the number of educated natives qualified for, as they think, and fully expecting employment in Government or mercantile offices, and in a

large proportion of cases finding none of the kind they expected; while, by their training, they are, as Mr. Howell says, "unfitted for manual and productive industry."

In the official Report on the "Moral and Material Progress of India," laid before Parliament last year, the expression occurs regarding the educated class—"The complaint is reiterated by the local Government, that the youth of Bengal resort almost exclusively to two professions, *which are over-stocked—the law and the public service.* . . . Dislike of manual work creates a prejudice against (even) the practical study of mechanics."

If we look beyond those who have succeeded in passing the entrance examination, or in obtaining degrees, to the much larger number who have come up as candidates from the higher schools, with a good education in their own languages, and a fair knowledge of English, acquired not for its own sake, or for the sake of the literary treasures it contains, but solely with a view to sordid gain or worldly promotion, we shall have a better idea of the source whence so much discontent and disloyalty emanate.

The number of candidates who have presented themselves for examination by the universities, during these twenty-one years, amounts in the aggregate to not less than 61,650. To show the rate of increase, we find, that for the first eleven years the number of applicants was 15,673. In the last ten years it was 45,977. The "General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal," just come to hand, states, that "*the number has doubled since 1874.*" These numbers, though large, are not, it may be said, great, when compared with the population of India. But they are out of all proportion to the numbers educated in the lower departments, and what is of far more consequence, far above the natural law of demand and supply. No comparison can be drawn from European habits, where the higher education is part of the equipment for the life of a gentleman, as well as a qualification for professional employment. To the Indian this European culture is almost exclusively a preparation for professional, and still more for official, life, and disappointed of these, the education has only excited wants and raised expectations which leave the unsuccessful aspirant a discon-

Indian not
like English
graduates.

Only too
numerous
relatively.

tented and dangerous man. These figures speak for themselves.

A solemn official warning.

Government is responsible.

The Under-Secretary of the Home Department in India, was painfully impressed with the state of matters of which he knew so much, and in 1869 wrote these eloquent and solemn words in his "Report"—words which may well go home to every patriotic heart. The danger is far greater now than it was ten years ago. It grows with the growth of the system: "Looking to the rapid growth of our educational system, and to the enormous influence for good or evil that a single able and well-educated man may exercise in this country; and looking at the dense but inflammable ignorance of the millions around us, it seems a tremendous experiment for the State to undertake, and in some provinces almost monopolise, the direct training of whole generations, above their own creed, and above the sense of relation to another world upon which they base all their moral obligations; and the possible evil is obviously growing with this system;" and he concludes with the solemn warning: "It is true that things go smoothly and quietly, but this is attained by ignoring, not only the inevitable results of early training on the character, and the great needs of human nature, especially in the East, but by also ignoring the responsibility which devolves on the Government that assumes the entire control of direct education at all. If, therefore, while fanaticism is raging around, there is a calm in our schools and colleges, it is an ominous and unnatural calm of impossible continuance, the calm of the centre of the cyclone."

ABOUT REMEDIES AND OBJECTIONS.—FIRST, GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

I do not feel called on to lay down the programme of a future policy; that I leave for more experienced and competent hands. I have proved the existence of an evil of a most pernicious and perilous kind, which demands a remedy on the score of religion, morality, and good government. I have shown the presence of institutions supported by natives and European residents, as well as those by missionary

societies, capable of indefinite expansion, with a continuance of the grants-in-aid now given. I have called attention to the principle underlying the whole of the despatch of 1854, which anticipated and required a change from the existing method of *direct* instruction by the Government. The universities, the grants-in-aid, and inspection being all based on that principle. In these circumstances, I am under no necessity of proposing any new method, I simply ask for the honest and earnest carrying out of the provision of the despatch.* It will be a difficult, but not an impossible task. It must be done firmly and persistently, but slowly and cautiously, under imperial authority: not in a spirit of antagonism to the natives, but by appealing to their better feelings, and calling on them to make a sacrifice for the benefit of their poorer and less-favoured brethren. I have too much respect for the higher classes in India, to suspect them of the selfish desire to continue a monopoly of State education at the expense of the poor. With special colleges, and the technical schools, and normal schools and colleges, we would not interfere.

Firm, cautious,
and kindly
withdrawal of
Government
Colleges,

The education in the higher class of schools should also be given up by the Government. In them the branches taught necessarily tend to undermine belief, as well as, though not to the same extent as in the colleges, and it would be easy for the natives and societies to keep them up. They can be made even now to pay their own expenses under native teachers, with a good European master. The universities would of course remain, and would be a guarantee, and the means of keeping up the standard, and stimulating to the highest effort by their examinations, degrees, scholarships, and rewards. They might be improved by broadening the basis of representation at their boards.

and higher-
class schools.

These are what we ask, and they are only what the Home Government have urged for the last quarter of a century. But if "it's a far cry to Loch Awe," it's a farther cry to the Hooghly, and it will require the loudest and most stern call of the British Parliament, to secure a consistent carrying out of its determinations.

What Home
Government
called for in
vain.

* See the first sentence in the analysis of the despatch by the Under-Secretary, Appendix D.

Why in vain.

But it may be asked, since the terms of the despatch are so explicit, and the wishes of Government have been so clearly and frequently expressed during these twenty-five years, why have not Government colleges been reduced in number, and the funds employed on lower education, or the cheap substitution for grants-in-aid in native and mission colleges?

Government
preoccupied.

The answer is not far to seek. The Indian Government cannot give, or does not give, that amount of time and attention to education which the subject demands. They are so much taken up with weighty and multifarious affairs of a more urgent, though not more important nature, that they have left the power, not formally, but practically, in the hands of secular educationists. They have thrown open the highest appointments, even those of "Directors of Public Instruction," which at first were given to experienced civilians, to professors and principals of colleges and schools, as the rewards of lengthened service, or of ability in teaching. The consequences are what might have been expected. With the best intention, it may be, these men inevitably identify themselves with their system, which had been all along the higher education. They think, and in fact tell us, that we must educate the higher classes to the highest pitch, and by-and-by education will "percolate downward to the lower strata." We all know the tendency of professional and class legislation. To set a body of ecclesiastics or schoolmasters, of doctors or lawyers, of officers of the army or navy, to take steps for gradually reducing their numbers, until they become extinct, and to foster and strengthen another body of men for whom they had no affection, and in whom, from professional pride, they had probably no confidence, to take their place, would not be a likely way to gain the end desired. They would find a thousand good reasons for avoiding the task, or delaying its execution. In fact, to ask men to extinguish themselves or their system is wrong, to expect them to do it is folly.

External
influence,

of a profes-
sional class.

Mission col-
leges disliked.

But I must call attention to what is worse than evasion and delay in carrying out the provisions of the despatch and the wishes of the Government. There seems of late, a growing tendency to discourage, if not to destroy, the aided colleges, as rivals to those of Government.

It is with pain that I have lately received stronger confirmation of what has long been feared, that there is a great desire to get rid of all our missionary colleges, which have done so much for the education of the people, and, as the highest officers of the Government have allowed, done much to save society from the baneful effects of mere secular teaching.

Some of these colleges have of late years greatly improved Discouraged. in their management and efficiency, and now number a larger roll of graduates than those of Government. This is what the despatch aimed at, and what ought to have been hailed with gratitude. Instead of that, what do we find? The most efficient of them are being treated with the greatest severity, and the grants-in-aid are reduced, and reduced in the most arbitrary way, and on such short notice as to be embarrassing and discouraging to the managers. I cannot now give details, but record the fact, and am prepared with details which will appear ere long.

It has long been known that some in high employment Hostility of
Secularists. in the Educational Department are opposed to mission colleges, on the ground of religious feeling. They openly advocate views directly adverse to Christianity; and this feeling, which formerly found vent in contempt for a weak opponent, now finds vent in acts of bitter hostility towards a powerful rival. I am far from charging professors and directors as a body with hostility to religion, but it cannot be denied that there are some of the most active and pushing of their number who are opposed to anything in the form of living Christianity, and in a system *which is based on the exclusion of religion* those who are hostile to it have a vantage ground, in opposing institutions which condemn their own by teaching the truths which they ignore, and yet gain the confidence of the natives, and do their work at so much less cost to the Government.*

I need not reply to the objections which may be made to these simple proposals. I would refer to the able men who Do not reply
to objections. drew up the despatch, as a guarantee that its provisions are wise and practicable. It is well known that Sir Charles Wood took counsel with the wisest and most experienced men of all parties, in preparing that important document—

* They plead economy, but are increasing the cost of Government colleges.

Experienced
men drew up
despatch.

the Magna Charta of education in India. The most experienced governors, civilians, professors, and missionaries were engaged in its composition, and it bears the mark of the greatest wisdom and minutest forethought, "aided," as they say they were in paragraph six, "by ample experience of the past and the most competent advice for the future." It is not disrespectful to say of those who have carped at, and opposed the carrying out of its provisions, that they cannot boast of greater wisdom and experience than those who gave such mature and disinterested attention to the drawing up of a code worthy of the new era, when, as they say, in the opening paragraph, "By an Act of the Imperial Legislature, the responsible trust of the Government of India has again been placed in our hands." If the despatch is impracticable, let them ask for its repeal.

SECOND, ABOUT MISSION COLLEGES.

Call for co-
operation.

It is most desirable that, in order to the efficient and economical management of mission colleges, the different Evangelical Churches co-operate in supporting and managing them. At first these educational missions were entirely conducted by the Church of Scotland, and only one was set up in each Presidential city.

In place
division of
labour.

But ere long, one after another of the leading missionary societies started on the same line—a most gratifying evidence of the proved efficiency of the system which Dr. Duff may be said to have originated, but leading to what cannot but be deplored as a needless waste in men and money. So long as the Presbyterian Church of Scotland made this line of action a speciality in mission work, for which, as the Church of John Knox, she was peculiarly fitted, it made a good division of labour, taking the missions in India as one body working for one great end; but when each began to add this feature to their other work, or to give up other forms of work for this, it had the necessary effect of multiplying small educational institutions, with a small number of pupils, either with a small staff of teachers, in which case they were inefficient, or with a large staff, and then the average cost of each pupil was very high.

Waste in men
and money.

It is found, then, that four or five European professors, with Economy. native assistants, can teach 300 or 400 pupils as well as they could teach a fourth part of the number, which reduces the cost of each pupil in proportion. At present the number of pupils, in aided colleges, is on an average only seventy-four to each. Far too small a number to pay, as they might be made to do, the great part, if not eventually nearly the whole, of their own expenses, but for the wasteful competition amongst themselves, and still more the unequal competition with Government institutions. A slight rise in the fee with increased attendance would make colleges self-supporting.

An example of this kind of co-operation has been exhibited in Madras under the able presidency and through the exertions of Mr. Miller, with the most satisfactory results—the Church of England, the Established Church of Scotland, and the Methodist Missionary Societies, all contributing to the Free Church College, under a board of management on the spot. It is hoped that these societies and others will combine at home for a general movement, which may establish mission colleges of a high class, in greater force, at more stations, and at less expense to each society than at present. A partial example.

Another point of great importance is to see that such a A full staff staff of professors and teachers is kept up, as shall admit needed for higher success. of greater attention being paid to evangelistic work in the colleges and amongst those who have passed through our educational institutions.

This work must, as a rule, be done by the professors, not by a separate class set apart as evangelists. They would be looked on with distrust, and would not get the hold on old scholars which a former teacher would. Every professor and teacher must be an evangelist, who carries his evangelistic spirit into the school and college, every day, and at all times. By having a larger staff, there could always be one in turn engaged in looking after, and addressing as occasion offered, old graduates of their own or Government colleges, in the towns, and by occasional itinerancy in the surrounding Sporadic and concentric work. country for scattering the seed of the Word where it may fall into the hearts of old pupils, and recall old lessons. This kind of sporadic work, conducted on a concentric prin-

ciple, would be of great use. Each college should be a centre, and the circle would correspond with the radius from which its graduates were drawn. It is a shame to the Church that by having almost all our colleges undermanned it was impossible to carry on such work in a methodical and efficient way.

Normal schools
and colleges.

Another branch of work which ought to be greatly extended, is the training of teachers for the elementary schools. If a large number of well-qualified teachers were trained, they would soon get employment throughout the country, if the stimulus were given to the elementary education which was originally intended by the despatch of 1854.

The Church's
duty, over-
sight and
prayer.

In the last place, let there be more intelligent oversight, and earnest prayer by the Church at home; and we hope, that, ere long, we may see glorious results. There is a great leavening process going on in Hindu thought and feeling. There is a conviction diffused that the Christian system is the true, and will be the triumphant religion in India.

Hinduism to
fall not by dis-
integration;

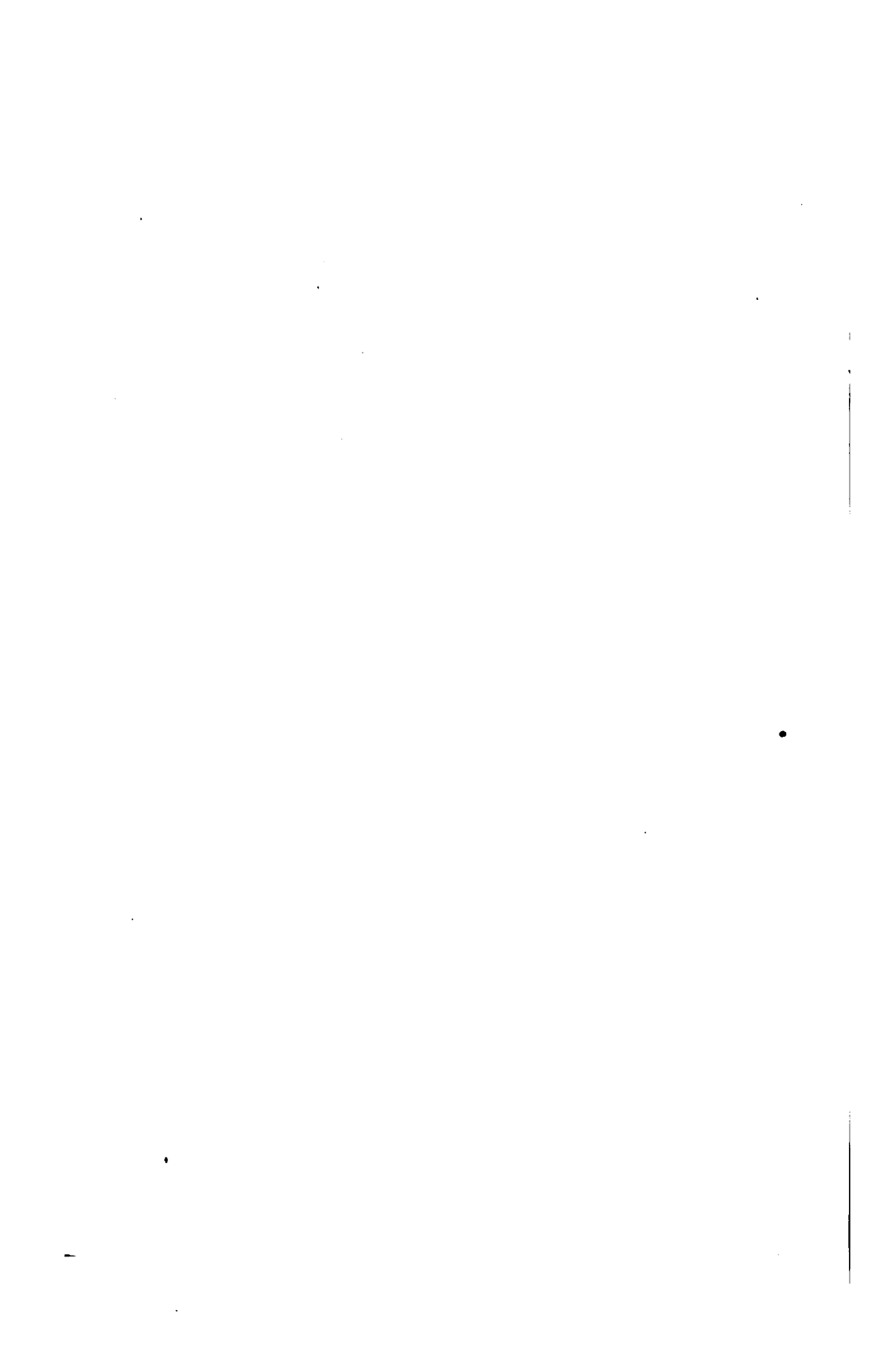
There will be opposition, there may be a conflict, imperiling our rule, if not our existence, in the country, ere that triumph is attained, but it will come, and it will, we believe, come with a sudden and mighty rush which will startle and amaze an incredulous age. Hinduism is like no other system that now exists, or has ever existed in the world. It seems as if it would defy those processes of disintegration, by which believers may be gathered by units or tens or hundreds from other sects and races, in other systems, in other lands, or even in India, as among the aboriginal tribes, or those simpler races in Tinevelley and Travancore, which never fully partook of the fatal privileges of Brahminical religion, and were never brought within the iron bondage of caste, where missions have been so largely successful. Hinduism defies the tooth of time and the tool of the engineer to disintegrate it, or to pick out a stone from the hard and compact structure, except in a few rare and exceptional cases, and the intensity of passion with which these few conversions are felt and resented shows how perfect is the unity of the body—"If one member suffers all the members suffer with it." When Hinduism falls, it will fall as those grand old towers fall which have outlived the age and state of society for which

but in mass,

like old tower.

they were constructed ; so strongly cemented that they will stand or fall entire—they cannot be taken down like our frail modern structures, stone by stone. It is only by the slow and persevering process of sapping and mining that they can be brought to the ground, and they fall in one solid mass. It is thus that this great donjon, in which superstition and caste have kept the millions of India as in a castle of despair, will one day fall, “to rise no more at all.” A thousand agencies are at work to undermine it, secular and religious, and we wish them all God-speed ; but none can compare with the full and clear proclamation of the glorious Gospel, in thoroughly equipped and efficiently conducted educational institutions, in which Divine light is thrown on every subject of human study, by generous and disinterested men of the highest culture and Christian character.

By under-
mining foun-
dations.



APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

It is not necessary that I go back to the earlier periods of our intercourse with that country. Without reckoning the embassy which King Arthur is said to have sent out in 883, our direct connection with India may be said to date from the year 1601, when a "company of merchants trading to the East Indies," with a capital of £75,000, sent out five vessels, varying from 600 to 130 tons, carrying £6860 in goods and £28,742 in bullion. Our attempts to impart the higher blessings of education and religion date from a much more recent period. To our disgrace, two centuries passed without any attempt by the nation or the Church to confer any benefit, material or spiritual, on the natives of India. Individual efforts for the amelioration and enlightenment of the population were made. Noble philanthropists and earnest Christians made the pages of our history bright with their deeds, all the more bright and worthy of admiration from the general darkness and the opposition they met with from those in power.

APPENDIX B.

It is, I believe, a great mistake to suppose that by our professing that we would rule the country in the fear and according to the revealed will of our God, we would have endangered our position in India. On the contrary, it would have strengthened our position, and have tended to secure the confidence of the natives. Keeping our religion in the back-ground is the way to excite their suspicions. They, like all weak races, are accustomed to gain their ends by concealment and duplicity, and they never doubt but that we have some deep and dangerous policy concealed under our ostentatious form of ignoring religion. They naturally think that it is our interest to make them adopt our religion. They

cannot conceive of a religion that does not pervade every department of human life,—personal, social, and political. Their own religion covers the whole of life, and they cannot be convinced that ours does not. They necessarily and rightly conclude that it ought to do so.

The practical effect of our neutral policy is to excite distrust and fear, and lays us open to the constant suspicion of a deep-laid scheme to undermine their religion or to convert them by stratagem. The nature of religion, as they understand it, makes this not only possible, but easy, if not inevitable. By the essential outwardness and minute observances of their system they know that they may be made outcasts from society, and put beyond the pale of their religion by a most trifling outward act or circumstance entirely independent of their own intention or will,—a mere accident or oversight of their own, or a malicious act of another may be the cause of ruin to multitudes both for this world and the next.

It is this feature of the religion of the Hindus, coupled with their suspicion of our designs, that makes those rumours of our intention to convert them by means of force or fraud possible of belief and so dangerous to the Government.

Had we at the beginning of our rule, or when proclaiming the empire in 1858 done two things—First, had we frankly and publicly declared that we were ourselves Christians, and that we believed it was the only true religion, and the best for all men, but that we had no intention of interfering with any man in his religious beliefs,* That we held the domain of conscience to be beyond and above the province of civil government, and appealed to the facts of our historic neutrality in this sense for these hundred years. Second, that the essential nature of our holy religion was such, that no power on earth could make a man a Christian against his will. That a mere outward profession of Christianity was an insult to our God, and would be of no use to its professor in this or in another world. That Christianity was a religion of faith and love and holy living, and that any service which was not rendered with the heart and of free will, was a mockery, and that the Government would prefer an honest and upright heathen to a hypocritical and false professor of Christianity.

Had such a course been pursued from the first, a widespread rebellion like that of 1857, excited by the rumour of our convert-

* We gratefully admit the frank avowal of personal belief in Christianity by our noble Queen. But the proclamation failed in not avowing that our Government would be regulated by the principles of the Word of God.

ing the soldiers by making them bite off the ends of cartridges greased with cow's fat, would have been impossible, even in credulous and suspicious India.

Had our country pursued such a course, it might, with the blessing of God, have stayed the horrors of that war, and it might have hastened the establishment of the kingdom of peace.

If from books we turn to the men who have had the destiny of millions put into their hands, we are struck with warm admiration of the many noble lives which have been devoted to the welfare of our Eastern Empire. The profound wisdom displayed in the most trying circumstances, the calm courage in presence of appalling danger, the indomitable perseverance in overcoming Herculean difficulties, and above all the noble self-consecration and often self-sacrifice in serving a people who could not appreciate their aims or their motives, and often returned ingratitude for kindness and hatred for love, are an honour to our country and a blessing to the race.

APPENDIX C.

I cannot resist the temptation to quote the following testimony to the character of Zachary Macaulay from the lips of Mr. Gladstone, when speaking in opposition to the son of that noble old man :—

“I can only speak from tradition of the struggle for the abolition of slavery ; but if I have not been misinformed, there was engaged in it a man who was the unseen ally of Mr. Wilberforce and the pillar of his strength ; a man of profound benevolence, of acute understanding, of indefatigable industry, and of that self-denying temper which is content to work in secret, to forego the recompense of present fame, and to seek for its reward beyond the grave. The name of that man was Zachary Macaulay, and his son is a member in the existing Cabinet.”

APPENDIX D.

DESPATCH OF 1854.

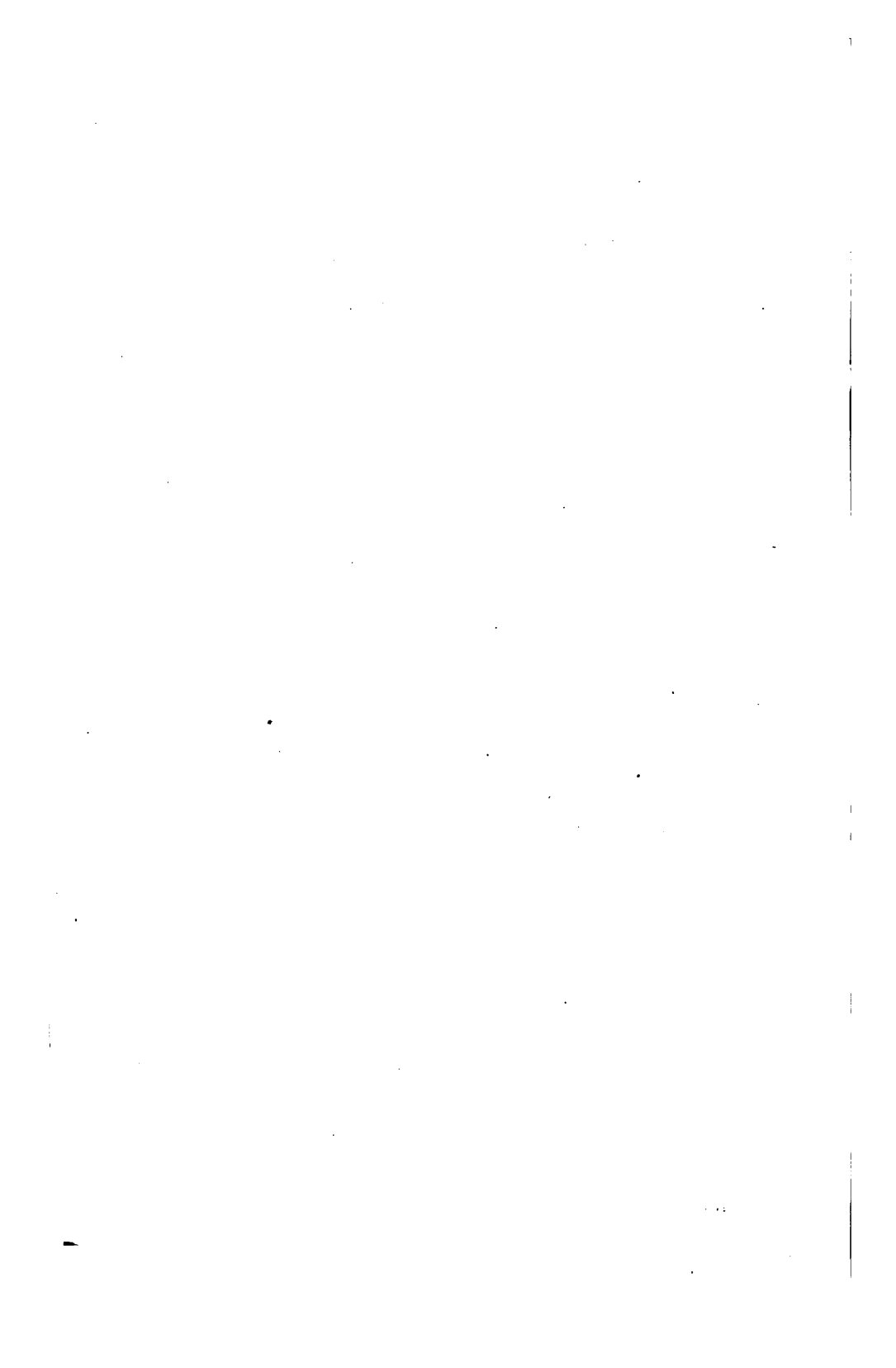
The following brief summary of this important despatch is by the pen of the Secretary for the Home Department in India, prepared by authority for the Houses of Parliament :—

“The Indian educational code is contained in the despatches of the Home Government of 1854 and 1859. The main object of the former despatch is to divert the efforts of the Government

from the education of the higher classes upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses. Such instruction is to be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government, and a compulsory rate, levied under the direct authority of Government, is pointed out as the best means of obtaining funds for the purpose. The system must be extended upwards by the establishment of Government schools as models, to be superseded gradually by schools supported on the grant-in-aid principle. This principle is to be of perfect religious neutrality, defined in regular rules adapted to the circumstances of each province, and clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. Schools, whether purely Government institutions or aided, in all of which (excepting Normal schools) the payment of some fee, however small, is to be the rule, are to be in regular gradation from those which give the humblest elementary instruction to the highest colleges, and the best pupils of one grade are to climb through the other grades by means of scholarships obtained in the lower school and tenable in the higher. To provide masters, Normal schools are to be established in each province, and moderate allowances given for the support of those who possess an aptness for teaching and are willing to devote themselves to the profession of schoolmasters. By this means it is hoped that, at no distant period, institutions may be in operation in all the presidencies calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools, and thus in time greatly to limit, if not altogether to obviate, the necessity of recruiting the educational service by means of engagements made in England. The medium of education is to be the vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised for, and liberally rewarded by Government as the means of enriching vernacular literature. While, therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is a demand for it, but the English language is not to be substituted for the vernacular dialects of the country. The existing institutions for the study of the classical languages of India are to be maintained, and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they command. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government, as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people, than by the education of men. In addition to the Government and aided

colleges and schools for general education, special institutions for imparting special education in law, medicine, engineering, art, and agriculture are to receive in every province the direct aid and encouragement of Government. The agency by which this system of education is to be carried out is a director in each province, assisted by a competent staff of inspectors, care being taken that the cost of control shall be kept in fair proportion to the cost of direct measures of instruction. To complete the system in each presidency, a university is to be established, on the model of the London University, at each of the three presidency towns. These universities not to be themselves places of education, but they are to test the value of the education given elsewhere; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through, the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials in every district, and is to receive, besides, the direct encouragement of the State by the opening of Government appointments to those who have received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired; and in the lower situations, by preferring a man who can read and write, and is equally eligible in other respects, to one who cannot." *

* Parliamentary Blue Book, 1870, p. 7.



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*As our Abstract gives references to the Report of the Commission,  
this Index practically serves for both.*  
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